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SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, J. WILLARD MARRIOTT LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

Institutions have institutions. At the Utah State Historical Society, perhaps the best known and most widely used institution is the *Utah Historical Quarterly*—first published in 1928 and now concluding its seventieth volume with this issue. For the last twenty-nine years, Dr. Stanford J. Layton has edited and managed the *Quarterly*. In the hearts of readers, authors, and the Utah State Historical Society staff, Stan has become an institution. His name will always be associated with the emergence of the *Quarterly* as one of the nation's premier state history journals and its embrace of all peoples and areas of the state. During his tenure as editor, nearly six hundred articles and over sixteen hundred book reviews and notices have appeared in the more than 12,000 pages he edited and published. This legacy of history is an unparalleled treasure for Utah and her people and is a monument to a truly distinguished career. Such contributions, however, will not end with Stan's retirement from the Utah State Historical Society. He moves from here to a full-time teaching position in the Department of History at Weber State University where a new generation of students will enjoy his wit, humor, and love of history, while being challenged to meet his impeccable standards for scholarship and excellence.

This issue's first article takes us back a hundred and fifty years to England in the early 1850s when new converts to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints sought the quickest and cheapest way to immigrate to the

new Zion in the mountains of far off Utah. For the poorer converts, (and most were in this category) the answer seemed to be the £10 plan introduced in 1853 then changed to the £13 plan a year later. The questions of how the plan worked, what the immigration experience was like for the more than one thousand participants, and why the plan was abandoned after two years, are answered in this insightful article.

The next two articles return to the theme of winter activities in Utah, which was the subject of the Fall 2001 issue that reached readers on the eve of the 2002 Winter Olympics. In the delightful article on ice skating and coasting in Utah, we are reminded that earlier generations of Utahns were not content to sit by the fire and wait for the warmth of spring and summer. Instead, they adapted easily to the snow and cold turning city roads into coasting hills and developing primitive but effective warning systems for both motorists and coasters. Frozen ponds became ice skating arenas where couples could skate arm in arm or youngsters could compete in hockey games equipped with brooms or other kinds of makeshift hockey sticks. Utah's canals became highways of ice on which skaters covered miles and miles of unobstructed skating. Anyone who has strapped on a pair of ice skates or jumped onto a coaster sled will savor this article.

The third article looks at the role of the United States Forest Service in the development of Utah's ski industry. As a governmental agency created in 1905 to manage the timber and grazing resources on the nation's forest reserves, few imagined that the Forest Service would soon deal with recreational issues ranging from campgrounds to ski runs and skier safety. The process by which this occurred in Utah is outlined in this timely article.

Anthropologists instruct us that the environment has been a primary factor in our history for thousands of years. More recently, the tremendous growth of Western cities has brought new demands and challenges in the post-World War II era. Our last article focuses on the environmental issues and concerns that surfaced during the 1960s and 1970s and ultimately led to the cancellation of the Kaiparowits Power Project in southern Utah. In this balanced treatment of the controversy, the concerns and tactics of environmental groups are examined, the casual approach to planning and implementation by power officials is presented, and the reasons for the ultimate cancellation of the project are summarized. As we face new and ongoing challenges with immigration, the environment, the economy, our quality of life, and our own survival, the thought-provoking articles in this issue offer a meaningful historical perspective on the paths we have taken in the past.

OPPOSITE: *The base of the Brighton chairlift circa 1955.*

ON THE COVER: *Undated photo of ice skaters.*



THE HISTORIC NEW ORLEANS COLLECTION

Bound for Zion: The Ten- and Thirteen-Pound Emigrating Companies, 1853–54

By POLLY AIRD

Let all who can procure a bit of bread, and one garment on their back, be assured there is water plenty and pure by the way, and doubt no longer, but come next year to the place of gathering, even in flocks, as doves fly to their windows before a storm,” urged Brigham Young in April 1852 to the “Saints Scattered Through-out the Earth.”¹ To a poor, working-class British believer in the new Mormon religion, these words gave bright hope for escape from the daily, hungry treadmill to a life with God’s elect in Zion, the home he had set aside for them in the Great Salt Lake Valley.

Young’s epistle to the scattered Saints followed more than eleven years of Mormon emigration from Great Britain to the United States. Since 1848 some six thousand converts had made the seven-thousand-mile journey from the green hills of Britain all the way to the desert kingdom of Utah. Much has been written about British Mormon emigration; in particular, P. A. M.

Bird’s eye view of New Orleans from the Lower Cotton Press in 1852 showing both sailing ships and steamboats. Lithograph by D. W. Moody after J. W. Hill and B. F. Smith, Jr., delineators.

Polly Aird is an independent historian who lives in Seattle. She is on the editorial board for the *Journal of Mormon History*.

¹ Seventh General Epistle, *Millennial Star*, July 17, 1852. Brigham Young was president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (also known as the LDS or Mormon church).

Taylor's *Expectations Westward* gives a wealth of historical context for the missionary work in Great Britain and the planning of emigration by the church leaders in Utah.² This paper builds on that background and focuses on an experiment in moving British Mormons for a minimal amount of money from Liverpool, England, to Salt Lake City, and it explores why the scheme was abandoned after two years.

Most immigrants to Utah, who came primarily from Great Britain and Scandinavia, had never ventured more than a few miles from their doorsteps and could not imagine the vast distances they would have to travel.³ What impelled these zealous believers to immigrate, not just to the eastern seaboard of America as so many others from Europe had done but to go another thousand miles inland from the then-frontier on the Missouri River?

The great impetus came from a belief integral to the LDS faith in the mid-nineteenth century: "gathering to Zion." Believed literally and fervently, this tenet was nearly as fundamental as baptism. It reenacted the gathering of the Israelites to the Promised Land and was a necessary preparation for the coming of Christ in the "Last Days." For the individual, it was the only way one might receive the full ordinances of the faith, for these had to be performed in a temple, the "house of the Lord."⁴ Joseph Smith, the founder of the new religion, had proclaimed God's revelation: "Ye are called to bring to pass the gathering of mine elect.... The decree hath gone forth from the Father that they shall be gathered in unto one place...to prepare...against the day when tribulation and desolation are sent forth upon the wicked. For the hour is nigh and the day soon at hand when...all the proud and they that do wickedly shall be as stubble; and I will burn them up, saith the Lord of Hosts, that wickedness shall not be upon the earth."⁵

Besides its spiritual purpose—to prepare for Christ's "imminent" return by bringing the righteous out of "Babylon," the sinful world—the gathering had earthly aims as well. The church needed people to build the new kingdom and to stake out the Mormon claim to a vast territory in the West. In addition, a large population in Utah Territory would bolster the leaders' application for statehood, a status that would give them more control over political affairs.

² P. A. M. Taylor, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966). For studies by other authors, see James B. Allen, Ronald W. Walker, and David J. Whittaker, "Emigration and Immigration," *Studies in Mormon History, 1830–1997: An Indexed Bibliography* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 633–35.

³ For example, Samuel Claridge wrote that when he traveled the thirty-five miles to Liverpool in early 1853 it was the first time he had ever gone more than a few miles from home; see S. George Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge: Pioneering the Outposts of Zion* (Logan, Utah: author, 1987), 20.

⁴ *Millennial Star*, January 15, 1852, May 26, 1855.

⁵ *Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989) 29:7–9 (hereafter cited as D&C); this section was first published as section 10 of the *Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of the Latter Day Saints*, comp. Joseph Smith, Jr., et al., (Kirtland, OH: F. G. Williams and Co., 1835).

Mormon missionaries to Great Britain began teaching the tenet of gathering in 1840. Between then and 1847, about five thousand immigrated to church headquarters at Nauvoo, Illinois, and the surrounding country.⁶ In 1848 the first emigrants bound for Utah sailed from Liverpool, arriving in the Salt Lake Valley just a year after the Mormons first settled there.

British converts were but a tiny current in the vast river of emigration from Great Britain and Europe. To understand the context of the British Mormon experience in 1853 and 1854, the years of interest here, one needs to compare it to the overall British immigration to the United States. The peak for the British came in 1849 through 1853, and for the Mormons in 1853 through 1856, with the two overlapping in 1853.⁷ In that year at least 231,000 British came to the U.S. Only 2,609, or 1.12 percent of these were Mormons. In 1854 some 193,000 British emigrated; 2,034 of these, or 1.05 percent of the whole, were Mormon.⁸

The Mormon emigrants were almost all urban working-class families. The occupations recorded by U. S. customs officials for immigrants in 1852, the closest year for which figures can be found, were first "laborers" and then farmers. Since the term "laborer" could encompass many types of work, and since the records include 25,000 returning U.S. citizens, one cannot draw meaningful conclusions, but the percentage of the next occupation in rank, farmers, is far higher than the tiny percent of Mormons listed as farmers. The Mormon emigrants thus appear to have represented a fairly different strata of society: an urban one, unskilled in the arts that would help a pioneer. Certainly, their religious motivation contrasted with the economic motives of the average emigrant.⁹

By 1853, British converts could travel to Utah by one of four methods:

1. *Independent, "through" emigrants.* These paid their own way on Mormon-procured ships and steamboats. Most sent money ahead to a Mormon agent on the frontier to buy oxen and wagons. Not only did they benefit from an advantageous price this way, but such help was almost a necessity, for few of the city converts had ever seen, much less handled, an ox. In 1852 it was estimated that £20 would see an independent emigrant from Liverpool through to Salt Lake.¹⁰

2. *Emigrants for the United States only.*¹¹ These emigrants paid for their own passage and then were instructed to make their way to Council Bluffs,

⁶ *Deseret News 1989–1990 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1988), 166.

⁷ Terry Coleman, *Going to America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 213, 295; Taylor, *Expectations Westward*, 145.

⁸ Coleman, *Going to America*, 295–96; James Linforth, "Introduction," in Frederick Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*, ed. Fawn M. Brodie (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1962), 43; *Millennial Star*, April 23, 1853. Linforth records 2,312 Mormon emigrants for 1853, whereas the *Millennial Star* reports 2,609. The discrepancy comes from a difference in the reported numbers of independent emigrants.

⁹ Linforth, "Introduction," 46–48; Coleman, *Going to America*, 299–300.

¹⁰ *Millennial Star*, November 27, 1852, January 15, 1852.

¹¹ Richard Jensen terms these "ordinary" emigrants, but in this period at least, all primary sources used "ordinary" to mean independent, through emigrants; see Richard L. Jensen, "The British Gathering to

Iowa, on the east bank of the Missouri River, opposite today's Omaha. They settled in the area to work and earn enough for an outfit to use in crossing the plains sometime in the future. In mid-1854 church leaders began to encourage emigrants to come to the eastern states and work in their port of entry or in a frontier city, for they felt the emigrants could earn the needed money more quickly in America than in Britain.¹² Steerage across the ocean from Liverpool to New York in 1850—presumably comparable to passage to New Orleans in 1853–54—cost approximately one month's wages for a skilled worker or two months' wages for an unskilled one.¹³ For a large family, it was a major undertaking to save enough money for the voyage and have some left over to find a job and a place to live in the eastern states.

3. *Prepaid and sent for from Utah.* Relatives or friends already in Utah could pay for someone in Europe to come through the Perpetual Emigrating Fund. Payments of cash were preferred, but as there was little money in circulation at the time, most relatives paid in produce, livestock, equipment, or labor. By April 1854, 349 people had come to Utah this way. In July 1855 Brigham Young emphasized that such passage must be fully prepaid, but before then, sending for someone frequently involved a partial payment and a promise, or even just a promise.¹⁴ In one example, two Scottish brothers, Dougal and Alexander Adamson, sent for their sister Agnes's family, promising to pay the \$300 for the family's passage by making adobe bricks.¹⁵

4. *Perpetual Emigrating Fund (PEF).* In 1849 the PEF was established to gather the penniless Saints who had been driven out of the former church headquarters in Nauvoo, Illinois, and who waited on the frontier in Pottawattamie County, Iowa. Once that task was accomplished, the fund was opened to others who could not afford to come on their own. California Gold Rushers, by buying goods and services as they passed

Zion," in *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles, 1837–1987*, ed. V. Ben Bloxham, James R. Moss, and Larry C. Porter (Solihull, England: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987), 179. For primary sources, see, for example, the passenger list of the *John M. Wood* in "Emigration Records of the Liverpool Office of the British Mission, 1851–1855," Historical Department Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Archives); and the *Millennial Star*, May 13, 1854.

¹² *Millennial Star*, August 1, 1849, July 8, 1854. In practice, however, the emigrants were often pushed through to Utah out of concern that they would apostatize if left in the States.

¹³ Dudley Baines, *Emigration from Europe, 1815–1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 40.

¹⁴ Linforth, "Introduction," 27; *Deseret News*, July 25, 1855; *Millennial Star*, November 24, 1855.

¹⁵ PEF Financial Accounts, LDS Archives, CR 376 2, reel 2, fldr 83; and reel 8, item 25. At an exchange rate of \$5=£1, this came to £60, or £10 for each person. Archibald Anderson came to Utah in 1855, and his wife Agnes Adamson and their three sons came by handcart in 1856. Their daughter did not come. For Archibald Anderson, see the ship's roster for the *Samuel Curling*, sailed April 22, 1855; "Emigration Records from the Liverpool Office," LDS Archives; and Milo Andrus's overland company roster, Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, October 24, 1855, LDS Archives (hereafter cited as Journal History). For Agnes and their sons, see passenger list for the *Enoch Train*, Journal History, March 22 and 23, 1856, and Daniel McArthur's handcart company roster, Journal History, September 26, 1856, 33.

through Utah, brought money to the Mormons, helping to make the fund a reality and quickening the hope that one day “The poor can sit under their own vine, and inhabit their own house, and worship God in Zion.” In 1852 the first 251 British PEF emigrants sailed from Liverpool. Their trip launched the complex endeavor of moving a large number of people over an ocean, up rivers, and across the plains, almost all arranged before embarkation. When they arrived in Salt Lake City, residents there greeted the first PEF Saints with joyful fanfare.¹⁶

The PEF was a revolving fund started and sustained by donations from which emigrants could borrow to finance the journey. The number of PEF emigrants in any year depended on the resources available and was determined by Brigham Young, the president of the fund. In a signed contract, the emigrants promised to pay back the cost of the journey once they got to Utah, so that others could come. As Utah during this period had mostly a subsistence economy, and because PEF immigrants were also burdened with tithing and various local taxes, many could not pay back their loans (which did not accrue interest, at least for a time). Consequently, the fund continually lacked money, and church leaders tried various means to raise more. The primary means was to sell the animals and wagons after the immigrants reached Utah. Samuel Richards, president of the British Mission, implemented an additional strategy by encouraging the British saints to deposit their money into the PEF instead of a bank. The saints would receive no interest, but they would have the credit available to them whenever they were ready to go, and “The blessing God will bestow upon those who put their means and their hearts into His work, is not to be compared with a two per cent interest.”¹⁷

Richards, who was only twenty-eight years old, also proposed two sub-PEF plans. The first was a “donation and loan” scheme whereby one would give whatever one had to the PEF and then borrow from the fund as if one had donated nothing, with the obligation to pay back the full amount after arriving in Utah. This helped others emigrate and ensured that the donors through their show of faith would make the list of those going. More than £2,000 was raised between this plan’s announcement in November 1853 and May 1854.¹⁸ The second 1853 sub-plan was that all who could raise £5 per person would pool their money under Samuel Richards, the British

¹⁶ Linforth, “Introduction,” 23, 29; *Millennial Star*, December 11, 1852.

¹⁷ *Millennial Star*, November 26, 1853. A copy of the PEF contract can be found in the *Millennial Star*, January 12, 1856. On interest not being charged immediately, see B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century 1*, 6 vols. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 3:410.

¹⁸ *Millennial Star*, November 26, 1853, and May 13, 1854. Charles Derry, who later joined the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, was bitter about this plan, complaining that such emigrants were told it would be an easy matter to pay back the loan once they got to Utah, but instead they found themselves destitute “of every comfort of life, with a debt upon his hands that will cost him years of labor to get rid of”; Charles Derry, *Autobiography of Elder Charles Derry* (1908, republished Independence, MO: Price Publishing Co., 1997), 513–14.

The sailing ship International carried more £10 emigrants than any other ship: 237 out of the total 425 passengers. Engraving shows a waterspout during a severe storm on March 10, 1853. Built in 1853, lost at sea in 1863. Engraver unknown.



LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES

agent for the PEF, and he would arrange for half of them to emigrate. Then two years later, the other half could come. This

would “throw the advantages of emigration within the reach of many who had not been blest with them before.” This arrangement continued in 1854, but with £6 10s required, as the price of emigration had risen.¹⁹

The four methods of emigration brought 6,546 emigrants across the Atlantic Ocean in the five years before 1853, and most had gone all the way through to Utah. But the desire to emigrate kept intensifying in Britain, and Brigham Young wanted still more people to build up the Mormon kingdom. Samuel Richards described the increasing fervor: “Many have thought they would willingly sacrifice all they had, and undergo almost any hardship that they could endure, if they could only be gathered with the Saints; and were it not for the watery deep that lies between, we have thought many could scarcely be persuaded from starting on foot, to follow the example of Israel when they went out of Egypt in search of a promised land.”²⁰

In an epistle issued in the fall of 1851, Brigham Young declared that many British Saints “think it a trifle to walk fifteen or twenty miles to hear preaching on the sabbath, and return home at evening, and then stand at their labor the remainder of the week; and can they not walk twenty miles per day for fifty days, for the sake of getting...to the home of the Saints in the Valley of the mountains?”²¹ Although it is true that most were used to walking, Young made it sound so simple—too simple, in fact, when one considers that he wrote this just after the emigration for 1851 had ended. The seven wagon trains that had made the overland journey from Council Bluffs that season had taken an average of 108 days for the trip—more than twice the length of time given in the epistle.²²

¹⁹ *Millennial Star*, November 26, 1853; “Discourse by S. W. Richards, delivered in the Tabernacle on Sunday, Oct. 29, 1854,” Huntington Library, Mormon File, box 12, p. 6.

²⁰ Linforth, “Introduction,” 42–43; *Millennial Star*, October 2, 1852.

²¹ Sixth General Epistle, *Millennial Star*, January 15, 1852.

²² *Deseret News 1989–1990 Church Almanac*, 175. Not all were used to walking. Joseph Greaves, a tailor,



LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES

Samuel W. Richards, president of the British Mission, who first proposed the £10 emigrating plan. Probably taken by "Bro. Foster" in June 1846 in Nauvoo, as described in Richard's diary.

Six months later, Young sent the epistle with which this paper opened: "Let all who can procure a bit of bread, and one garment on their back...doubt no longer, but come...." The poetic images are brilliant and irresistible but also irresponsible. Believers took what Brigham Young said literally; after all, they were the words of the prophet. An 1853 missionary, Perregrine Sessions, described the members' credulity: "The English Saints were like so many cock robins on a cold morning, ready to swallow all they heard preached from the [Salt Lake] valley."²³ Young's statement encouraged them to set forth in simple faith and trust but with no realistic notion of the rigors of the western landscape they would have to traverse. Yet the fervor for gathering to Zion was vivid and near, while the hazards were vague and far away.

In the same epistle, Young encouraged tens of thousands to emigrate, and "it was even talked of their crossing the plains with hand carts and wheelbarrows," Samuel Richards said. "I did not feel that it was right for me

and my Brethren to sit down without doing anything. I therefore counselled with my Brethren and we finally fixed upon £10 as the lowest sum for which any person could be emigrated. This put Emigration within the reach of many of the poor saints." Those who took part in the planning were probably Richards's counselor and uncle Levi Richards and the presidents of the British Mission districts: Cyrus Wheelock, Jacob Gates, Isaac Haight, Appleton Harmon, Moses Clawson, and Robert Campbell.²⁴ All except Levi Richards and Cyrus Wheelock had already made the trip to Utah.

Thus was born the £10 emigrating plan, a fifth way to get to Utah—similar to the PEF plans but separate in its accounting system. Although many Scandinavians had also begun to emigrate, the £10 plan was limited

wrote about starting across Iowa in 1853, "This 300 miles was one of the greatest trials I have ever passed through, except losing my wife. I had never been used to walking and it was a great deal of labor to me. I have many a time lay down on the ground and cursed the day that I was born. I am sorry to say it but it is so"; Joseph Greaves to cousin, September 14, 1897, LDS Archives, MS 3915.

²³ Thomas A. Poulter, "Life of Thomas Ambrose Poulter from His Diary," *Utah Pioneer Biographies*, 44 vols. (Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society of Utah, 1964), 44:144.

²⁴ "Discourse by S. W. Richards," 6; *Millennial Star*, July 10, 1852. This meeting may have taken place on July 3, 1852, for Joseph W. Young noted in his diary on that day, "In the evening all the Presidents of conferences met in Council at Prest. S. W. Richard's [sic] and talked over the subject of the emigration"; Joseph W. Young, Papers, LDS Archives, MS 1529, vol. 2, p. 15.

to British converts. The *Millennial Star*, the Mormon newspaper that served as the primary source of information in Britain, announced the new scheme on October 2, 1852, which gave time for it to be put into effect before the start of the next sailing season in January. To get all the way to Salt Lake City in one year, the emigrants needed to leave Liverpool between January and late March so that they could be at the outfitting grounds in May and ready to start once the grass had grown enough to sustain the animals but no later than the end of June to escape the possibility of encountering early snows before reaching their destination.

The £10 company plan (which rose to £13 in 1854) was essentially a half-price scheme. The cheap price was based on reducing everything to a minimum: no extra food and more people per wagon and milk cow, which meant each person could take less luggage and would receive less milk. The principle of volume buying—keeping the unit price down through discount—also played a part; one receipt shows that Horace Eldredge, a Mormon agent, paid \$2.50 per person for passage of 221 people from St. Louis to Kansas City when the usual rate that year was \$3.00 to \$5.00, the higher amount being charged when the river was low, making navigation more difficult.²⁵

To understand the actual experience of the emigrants, one must turn to the diaries and memoirs of the emigrants themselves. Unfortunately, no diaries written by those who traveled on the £10/£13 scheme, except one for the ocean voyage, have been found.²⁶ The eight sources positively identified as written by £10 emigrants are one letter written right after the company's arrival in Salt Lake City and seven reminiscences. Of these, two were written by men who became disillusioned with Mormonism: Stephen



Announcement of the £10 emigrating plan in the *Millennial Star*.

²⁵ Empey file, March–August, 1854, Mormon file, HM 52609, Huntington Library; *Millennial Star*, May 6, 1854; William A. Empey Diary, LDS Archives, MS 4524, 110. John Davis also mentions the principle of buying in volume; John E. Davis, *Mormonism Unveiled, or, A Peep into the Principles & Practices of the Latter-day Saints* (Bristol, England: C. T. Jefferies, 1856), 23.

²⁶ The one diary is that kept by John Lyon, who sailed on the ship *International* in 1853. It is reprinted as appendix A in Frederick Stewart Buchanan, "The Emigration of Scottish Mormons to Utah, 1849–1900" (master's thesis, University of Utah, 1961), 141–56.

Forsdick and John E. Davis.²⁷ Forsdick wrote his account with the help of his journal, the whereabouts of which is unknown; his account is straightforward and does not show bitterness.²⁸ Welshman John Davis wrote one of the most detailed accounts. It was published within three years of his journey, which gives it more immediacy than most of the others, but after a nine-month stay in Salt Lake City, he went to San Francisco and then by ship back to Great Britain. His book was written as a warning to others about the “truth” of what converts would find if they went to Utah.²⁹

The six who remained in the church are Samuel Claridge, Hannah Cornaby, Joseph Greaves, Mary L. Morris, James Ririe, and Marie Radcliffe Shelmerdine, who wrote the letter. The views of the apostates in describing the difficulties of the trip are echoed closely by those who stayed loyal. Although these latter emigrants may have exaggerated their sufferings in later years to enhance the view of pioneer heroism and their part in it or simply had selective memories, the consistency among the accounts leads one to believe that they agreed on what actually happened. It is hoped that other writings, especially diaries, will be found eventually to refine the description of the trip given here.

As £10 was half of what it had cost in 1852 for an independent emigrant, those eager to go were warned that they could not “expect to go as comfortable as those who go with £20; for while the amount of means is reduced, the conveniences are necessarily reduced in proportion.”³⁰ The expenses to be covered were (1) shipping and food from Liverpool to New Orleans in steerage; (2) steamboat up the Mississippi River (and, in 1854, the Missouri River) on the lowest deck, where passengers slept however they could among the cargo or sometimes on rough bunks, but food was not included; (3) basic food in the outfitting camp; (4) an outfit for crossing the plains consisting of one tent, one wagon, two yoke of oxen, and two milk cows for every ten people; (5) provisions for every ten people from the outfitting camp to Council Bluffs; and (6) provisions for every ten people starting at Council Bluffs, Iowa, in 1853 and Westport, Missouri, in 1854. The list of provisions issued at Westport in 1854 included, for each group of ten, one thousand pounds of flour, fifty pounds of sugar, fifty pounds of bacon, fifty pounds of rice, thirty pounds of beans, twenty pounds of dried apples and peaches, five pounds of tea, one gallon of vinegar, twenty-five pounds of salt, and ten bars of soap. Added to the diet were milk from the cows and whatever game the emigrants were able to shoot along the way.³¹

²⁷ Stephen Forsdick, “On the Oregon Trail to Zion in 1853: Memoirs of Stephen Forsdick,” ed. Fletcher W. Birney, Jr., *Brand Book of the Denver Westerners* 9 (1953): 31–55, and Stephen Forsdick, *Autobiography*, MS 164, LDS Archives; Davis, *Mormonism Unveiled*.

²⁸ See Forsdick, “On the Oregon Trail to Zion,” 31 n.

²⁹ See Davis, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 4, 46.

³⁰ *Millennial Star*, October 2, 1852.

³¹ Linforth, “Introduction,” 52. For the 1853 provisions from the outfitting grounds to Council Bluffs, see James Ririe, [Autobiography], *Our Pioneer Heritage*, comp. Kate B. Carter, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1966), 9:355–56; and Forsdick, *Autobiography*, chap. 10, p. 17.

These provisions appear inadequate by any measure. The thousand pounds of flour for ten people meant one hundred pounds per person, or less than a pound per day for a journey that averaged more than a hundred days.³² Captain Randolph B. Marcy of the U. S. Army recommended in his handbook for emigrants, *The Prairie Traveler*, 1.4 pounds of flour per day and

Table 1
One Day's Provisions for One Person on the Overland Journey

	Brigham Young, 1846 ^a	£13 Company, 1854 ^b	Capt. R. Marcy, 1859 ^c
Flour	1.5 lbs	1 lb	1.4 lbs
Rice	0.2 oz	0.8 oz	No mention
Beans	1.4 oz ^d	0.5 oz	No mention
Bacon	No mention	0.8 oz	3.6 oz
Beef	"A little dried beef"	No mention	"Beef driven on the hoof"
Sugar	2.5 oz	0.8 oz	3.6 oz
Dried Fruit	0.4 oz	0.3 oz	"Citric acid"
Salt	0.6 oz	0.4 oz	"A quantity"
Pepper	0.04 oz	No mention	"A quantity"
Yeast/saleratus	0.1 oz	No mention ^e	"A quantity"
Tea/coffee	0.1 oz	0.09 oz	2.1 oz
Vinegar	No mention	0.3 Tbs ^f	No mention
Milk	Share cow with 2.5 persons	Share cow with 5 persons ^g	No mention

^a Brigham Young's recommendation for supplies was from Nauvoo to Salt Lake City. For simplicity's sake, the calculations are based on 30 days from Nauvoo to Council Bluffs and 100 days from Council Bluffs to Salt Lake City. Most trips took a few days more than this. Source: Brigham Young to Luther C. White, January 29, 1846, Brigham Young Papers, as quoted in Richard E. Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri, 1846-1852: "And Should We Die..."* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 245 fn. 32.

^bSupplies were to last from Westport, the 1854 outfitting camp, to Salt Lake City. No list of the 1853 supplies from Council Bluffs has survived, but the assumption here is that it was similar. For this table, 100 days was used, although the trip averaged 105 days from Council Bluffs to Salt Lake City in 1853 and 103 days from Westport in 1854. Source: James Linforth's introduction to Frederick Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*, edited by Fawn M. Brodie (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1962), 52.

^cMarcy's recommendations were based on a 110-day trip. Source: Randolph B. Marcy, *The Prairie Traveler: A Hand-Book for Overland Expeditions* (1859, reprinted Williamstown, Mass.: Corner House Publishers, 1978), 33, 35-36.

^dYoung recommended 1 bushel for five people. A bushel of navy (white) beans is approximately 55 lbs.

^eThe emigrants kept a piece of dough each day to start the next day's batch. Source Stephen Forsdick, "On the Oregon Trail to Zion in 1853: Memoirs of Stephen Forsdick," ed. Fletcher W. Birney, Jr., *Brand Book of the Denver Westerners* 9 (1953): 40.

^fConsidered a general cure-all, vinegar was particularly favored to counteract the effects of bad water. Source: Jacqueline Williams, *Wagon Wheel Kitchens: Food on the Oregon Trail* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1993), 87-89.

^gBecause of the difficulty of obtaining them, no company appears to have had what was allowed. Claridge said there was one cow in milk for 14 people. Ririe reported in his company they had one cow for 36 people. Morris wrote that the cows became dry or nearly so, giving only a teacup of milk a day. Sources: S. George Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge: Pioneering the Outposts of Zion* (Logan, Utah: S. George Ellsworth, 1987), 35; James Ririe, [Autobiography], *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 9:355; Journal of Mary L. Morris, *Journal History*, October 10, 1853, 2.

³² *Deseret News 1989-1990 Church Almanac*, 177-79. Of the thirteen companies listed for 1853, eight give the date at which they left Council Bluffs (Kanesville) or Winter Quarters as well as when they arrived in Salt Lake City. The quickest trip was made in 92 days, and the longest took 129 days; the average for all was 105 days. For 1854, of the seven companies for which a date of departure from Westport is known, one took only 91 days, and the longest 112 days; the seven companies averaged 103 days.

³³ For a 110-day trip, Marcy recommended for each adult these provisions: 150 lbs flour or its equivalent in hard bread, 25 lbs bacon or pork, beef driven on the hoof, 15 lbs coffee, 25 lbs sugar, saleratus or yeast, salt and pepper. Randolph B. Marcy, *The Prairie Traveler: A Hand-Book for Overland Expeditions, with Maps, Illustrations, and Itineraries of the Principal Routes between the Mississippi and the Pacific* (1859, reprint Williamstown, MA: Corner House Publishers, 1978), 35-36.

1.5 pounds of bacon per week, and then he cautioned that these were subsistence supplies.³³ Brigham Young himself had in 1846 recommended more than half again the amount of flour allotted to the £13 companies.³⁴ Table 1 shows a comparison of these three diets, broken down to show what one person was allowed for one day.

The calories in one day's provisions for the £13 companies shown in Table 1 are as follows: Flour, 1,600; rice, 86; beans, 48; bacon, 142; sugar, 27, and dried fruit, 23. Together, these give 1,926 calories. If each person also received two cups of milk per day, at least at the beginning of the trip, the additional 318 calories would bring the total to 2,244.³⁵ These figures assume that no bacon spoiled or melted away in hot weather and that no flour was lost by getting wet during river crossings or storms.³⁶ With the daily allotment for ten people being 5 ounces of dried beans (or about 2/3 cup), it seems unlikely that the group cooked beans each day; probably they saved up the allowance and cooked once a week, so the calories given above are only the average per day. Today's recommended dietary allowances for ages fifteen to fifty are between 2,900 and 3,000 calories for men and 2,200 for women.³⁷ However, the emigrants expended considerably more calories than the average person as they walked daily twelve to twenty miles and attended to the myriad camp and animal chores. Perhaps the food was adequate for children and for men and women over fifty, but for most, especially the active young men, it was insufficient. Lansford Hastings pointed out in his *Emigrants' Guide* that those making the trek West should figure that they would need double the food they were used to at home.³⁸

The emigrants supplemented this meager diet with hunting and fishing, though Hastings' book also warned emigrants against expecting to depend on buffalo, especially if they were traveling in a large group. Nevertheless, the Mormon companies did shoot the animals from time to time. Stephen Forsdick said that between Deer Creek (20 miles east of today's Casper,

³⁴ Young recommended for five people from Nauvoo to Salt Lake City, a 30-day longer trip than from Council Bluffs: 1,000 lbs flour, 100 lbs sugar, 10 lbs rice, 25 lbs salt, 2 lbs pepper, 1/2 lb mustard, cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg, 5 lbs saleratus, 10 lbs dried apples, 1 bushel beans, 5 lbs dried peaches, a few pounds of dried beef, 1 lb tea, 5 lbs coffee, and 2 or more milk cows; Brigham Young to Luther C. White, January 29, 1846, Brigham Young Papers, as quoted in Richard E. Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri, 1846-1852: "And Should We Die..."* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 245, n32.

³⁵ Calculated using Irma S. Rombauer and Marion Rombauer Becker, "Tables of Equivalents and Conversions," *Joy of Cooking* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1962), 557-63; and U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Handbook of the Nutritional Value of Foods in Common Units* (New York: Dover Publications, 1986), 5, 15, 17, 97, 111, 135, 161. I used calories for navy (white) beans and whole wheat flour, which were probably similar to the emigrants' types; see Jacqueline Williams, *Wagon Wheel Kitchens: Food on the Oregon Trail* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1993), 5-7, 25-28.

³⁶ Marcy recommended storing bacon in boxes surrounded by bran to help prevent the fat from melting; Marcy, *The Prairie Traveler*, 30.

³⁷ If women were pregnant or lactating, as many were, they would need between 300 and 500 more calories per day; see National Academy of Sciences, *Recommended Dietary Allowances* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1989).

³⁸ Lansford W. Hastings, *The Emigrants' Guide, to Oregon and California...* (1845; reprint, Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1994), 144.

Wyoming) and Independence Rock, “Although we saw buffalo by the thousands, we only killed two or three.” He also mentions killing sage hens between South Pass and the Green River and that on Sundays, after two or three meetings, the emigrants were free to hunt or fish. Eighteen-year-old Mary Morris said her father often shot rabbits or prairie chickens. Hannah Cornaby mentioned picking berries, fishing, and hunting.³⁹ In addition, some emigrants reported selling clothing or other items they could spare in order to stock up on extra provisions at Council Bluffs, and Samuel Claridge said that when they reached Fort Laramie, “Those that had got money bought a few supplies.”⁴⁰

These strategies did not compensate for the inadequate provisions. Mary Morris related that “While our extras lasted our rations were abundant, but when they were gone, they were insufficient.” About their stay in the outfitting camp at Keokuk, Iowa, Marie Radcliffe Shelmerdine wrote to her parents, “Our food was scant. We was allowed one pound of flour a day and a pound of bacon a week per head.” This is somewhat of an exaggeration as they were given a little butter and sugar as well, but as the amounts were small, it is not surprising she did not count them. Stephen Forsdick, however, wrote that eggs were cheap in Keokuk and that he and his wagon companions made a feast with bacon and eggs and pancakes.⁴¹

Flour, the staple of the emigrants’ diet, was also inadequate for the trip from Keokuk to Council Bluffs, the final jumping-off spot. James Ririe, a Scottish convert, said that each received thirty pounds of flour to last the thirty-day trip. “But,” he wrote, “it did not do us.... At the Bluffs I asked President Haight if I could take 25 pounds of flour extra with me, as I had seen that in coming from Keokuk to the Bluffs, a pound a day was not sufficient. Abruptly he said ‘We won’t haul it for you sir.’” Although Haight’s response seems unduly curt, he was probably thinking of the extra weight, especially if others also wanted extra flour. The wagons varied in build, but most, with two yoke of oxen pulling, could handle only 2,000 pounds, and 1,500 was the recommended amount.⁴² The leaders had to find a balance between adequate supplies and the weight that would too quickly exhaust the animals.

³⁹ Forsdick, “On the Oregon Trail,” 40, 44–45; Journal of Mary L. Morris, *Journal History*, October 10, 1853, 2; Hannah Cornaby, *Autobiography and Poems* (Salt Lake City: J. C. Graham & Co., 1881), 33–34. “Sage hens” are sage grouse, *Centrocercus urophasianus*; the prairie chicken would be the greater prairie chicken, *Tympanuchus cupido*.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 33; Davis, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 25; Morris, *Journal History*, October 10, 1853, 1; Ririe, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 9:356; Marie Radcliffe Shelmerdine to her parents, October 29, 1853 (letter owned by Muriel Larsen), in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 12:360; Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge*, 42.

⁴¹ Morris, *Journal History*, October 10, 1853, 2; Shelmerdine, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 12:360; T. Edgar Lyon, Jr., *John Lyon: The Life of a Pioneer Poet* (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1989), 189; Forsdick, *Autobiography*, chap. 9, p. 15. The clerk of a PEF company under Appleton Harmon reported that the weekly ration in the outfitting camp was 7 lbs of flour and 1.5 lbs of bacon; see Cornelius Bagnall Emigrating Company, *Journal*, typescript, MS 871, 44, LDS Archives.

⁴² Ririe, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 9:355–56; George R. Stewart, *The California Trail: An Epic with Many Heroes* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1962), 110. One guidebook said that one could start with 2,500 lbs if one had four yoke of oxen; see Joel Palmer, *Journal of Travels Over the Rocky Mountains (1845–46)*, as quoted in Gregory M. Franzwa, *The Oregon Trail Revisited* (Tucson: Patrice Press, 1988), 31.

One wonders how Samuel Richards and his counselors thought it possible to travel on such scanty provisions. Maybe they expected that the emigrants would purchase flour along the way, find abundant game, and receive supplies from Utah for the last stage of the journey, as most companies did. Nevertheless, the leaders did not mention such thoughts in their descriptions of the system, and few poor emigrants could afford the high prices charged by the trading posts along the way.⁴³ Perhaps Richards and the others simply became swept up in the gathering enthusiasm, made a push to send as many as possible, and believed God would see them through.

According to the plan, each person over the age of eight could take one hundred pounds of luggage—including bedding, clothing, cooking utensils, and tools; those between four and eight years could take fifty pounds; and those under four received no weight allowance.⁴⁴ The 1,230 pounds of food and 700 pounds of personal luggage (assuming four adults and six children per wagon) would make 1,930 pounds, and this does not include the weight of rifles, tent, cooking pots, churns, and the other equipment needed for the trip, such as axes and blacksmithing tools. There is little doubt the wagons were overloaded.

In looking again at the list of supplies, one hopes that the bars of soap were large, for each person received only one for the three and a half months of sweaty, dusty, and sometimes muddy traveling. Although a weekly bath was the norm in that period, the one bar was to cover both bathing and washing clothes. With this, the minimal food, and the overloaded wagons, one can see that the emigrants would indeed not go as “comfortable” as those who had more money for the trip.

Initially, it appears that children under the age of one received no discount. When the plan was announced, Samuel Richards wrote, “But, says one, must I furnish £10 for my child which is only three months old? Yes, it is included in the estimate. Every child under one is taken free over the ocean; but when they come to take passage upon the land, they are proportionably expensive; and that portion of the £10 which they will not consume, others of the family will be sure to find use for.”⁴⁵ However, James Linforth, the editor for Frederick Piercy’s book recounting the latter’s journey to Utah in 1853 which was published by the Liverpool Office of the British Mission, said children under one went for half price. Confirming this, Samuel Claridge happily wrote in his account, “I then went to the office to settle for the remainder of my passage and then when S.W. Richards told me the baby was only half fare I felt I was rich.”⁴⁶

⁴³ Non-Mormon emigrants bound for Oregon and California might also run short of food, but, being better provided with money than were the £10/£13 emigrants, they were able to buy from better-supplied emigrants or trading posts along the way, or they could trade with Indians; see John D. Unruh, Jr., *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840–60* (Urbana: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 145–48, 165–66, 275.

⁴⁴ Linforth, “Introduction,” 52.

⁴⁵ *Millennial Star*, October 2, 1852.

The animals and wagons belonged to the emigrants, and once they arrived in Salt Lake City they were to be sold and the proceeds divided among the members of the company.⁴⁷ John Davis expected to do well this way. According to his account, the Mormon missionaries in Britain who accompanied the emigrants to Salt Lake told them that when they sold their wagons and animals, they would realize a profit above their cost because such commodities commanded higher prices in the West. Davis thus expected to finish the trip with almost half of the £10 he had paid, or about \$20 to \$25, which he thought would give him a start in Utah. Davis was not alone; Charles Derry, a PEF emigrant who traveled with a £13 company, described the same understanding.⁴⁸

The emigrants' owning the outfit and prepaying for the trip were the primary ways the £10/£13 companies differed from the PEF companies. One other distinction was that missionaries returning to Utah regularly traveled with the £10 and independent companies rather than with the PEF.⁴⁹ In everything else, the two plans were identical: They shared the same types of accommodations on ships and steamboats, number of people per wagon and tent, amount of luggage, and quantity and quality of provisions.

To join the £10 company, a British convert had to follow a procedure. First, to reserve his or her place, the emigrant sent £1 for each person in the party over one year old to the Liverpool office through the conference president. Next, for each person the convert would forward £5 the same way, which money would be sent ahead to the agent on the frontier, who would then buy the outfits for the overland journey. The remaining £4, for passage to the outfitting grounds, was due upon arrival in Liverpool before boarding the ship, the Liverpool Office having notified the intended emigrant of the date of sailing. A fine quality of twilled cotton was sent to the ship so that during the voyage the women could make wagon covers and tents according to certain specifications. On the ship, the emigrants were under the charge of a president appointed by the Liverpool office before departure. These men handled the money until the group arrived at the outfitting camp, where they handed over what remained to the agent there.⁵⁰ Eight ships sailed from Liverpool between January and early April in 1853 and eight more in 1854, each carrying an average of 329 Mormon passengers.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Linforth, "Introduction," 35; Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge*, 21.

⁴⁷ *Millennial Star*, October 2, 1852; Ririe, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 9:357.

⁴⁸ Davis, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 13–14, 27–28. Derry, *Autobiography*, 513.

⁴⁹ *Millennial Star*, January 27, 1855.

⁵⁰ *Millennial Star*, November 20 and 27, 1852; *Contributor* 11 (Feb 1890): 157; Christopher J. Arthur, Records (5 parts), 1:4–5, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

⁵¹ Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration, 1830–1890* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 150–51. Two other ships carried Mormon passengers in 1854, but together they carried only 39 Mormons and so are not counted in the figures.

The *Millennial Star* published an article at the start of the emigration season in 1853. It warned emigrants of the trials they would face in the close quarters of crowded ships and of the dangers in encountering apostates in the valleys of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and it encouraged each to “set his face as a flint Zion-ward.” Although earlier articles had touched on the overland portion, this one made no mention of the 1,300-mile trek the saints would have to undertake in order to get to Utah. Emigrant Stephen Forsdick wrote that when the ship docked in New Orleans in March 1853, “Here the first part of our journey came to an end and a good many of us thought that the worst was over, but we were badly mistaken, as we found before our journey was really ended.”⁵²

Except for initial seasickness and some dramatic storms, all the emigrants appeared to have enjoyed the sea voyage and found the organization of the ship and the provisions adequate.⁵³ Even the two who later left the Mormon faith found it “a remarkable voyage” and “a very fine passage.”⁵⁴ Mormon emigrant ships had gained a reputation for being the best on the seas, and British Mission president Samuel Richards was called before a select committee on emigrant ships in the House of Commons to describe the Mormon program of organization onboard. His testimony was well received, and both the Parliament and the press praised the system.⁵⁵

When the sailing ship arrived in New Orleans, the Mormon agent there, John Brown, arranged for passage up the Mississippi River as quickly as possible to avoid additional expenses in the city. Before leaving the ship, the people were to divide any food that might remain after a short voyage. This took place according to plan when the *Falcon* made a voyage of fifty-three days in 1853 and when the *John M. Wood* arrived after fifty-five days in 1854. But provisions were not forthcoming when the *Jersey* landed in New Orleans in March 1853 after only forty-four days, to the great chagrin of the emigrants who had counted on them for their trip up the Mississippi. According to John Davis, three weeks later a little “hard bread, and a small quantity of damaged rice” from the *Jersey’s* stores arrived in the outfitting camp.” The cause of this apparent mismanagement is unknown.⁵⁶

Each steamboat was met in St. Louis by the six-foot-tall, handsome Horace S. Eldredge, the Mormon agent, who once more speedily arranged for the emigrants’ transfer to a steamboat to take them north to Keokuk, Iowa, the outfitting ground in 1853, or up the Missouri River to Kansas City, Missouri, close to the 1854 camp in Westport. Sometimes Eldredge

⁵² *Millennial Star*, January 15, 1853; Forsdick, *Autobiography*, chap. 8, p. 14.

⁵³ One possible exception is Hannah Cornaby, who expressed great fear of the water but also mentioned the close bond felt by all the saints; Cornaby, *Autobiography and Poems*, 79.

⁵⁴ Forsdick, *Autobiography*, chap. 8, p. 13; Davis, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 6.

⁵⁵ *Millennial Star*, August 19, 1854; Jensen, “The British Gathering to Zion,” in *Truth Will Prevail*, 178.

⁵⁶ Cornelius Bagnall Emigrating Company, *Journal*, 43; Linforth, “Introduction,” 56; Davis, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 9–10, 16. Davis’s bitterness makes one skeptical of this story, but other emigrants corroborate his account on many other points.

was able to arrange to move the party from the New Orleans steamboat right onto the next one within a few hours, which saved the expense of storing the luggage and finding a place for the emigrants to stay.⁵⁷ These quick transfers in New Orleans



and St. Louis saved money, but the emigrants had only the briefest view of two important cities in their new country. However, having been warned of the sinful ways of those cities and told that New Orleans was the “first Hell” through which they must pass and St. Louis the “second Hell,” all appear to have welcomed their speedy progress toward Zion.⁵⁸

*Outfitting camp at Keokuk, 1853.
Steel engraving by Charles Fenn
from sketch by Frederick Piercy.*

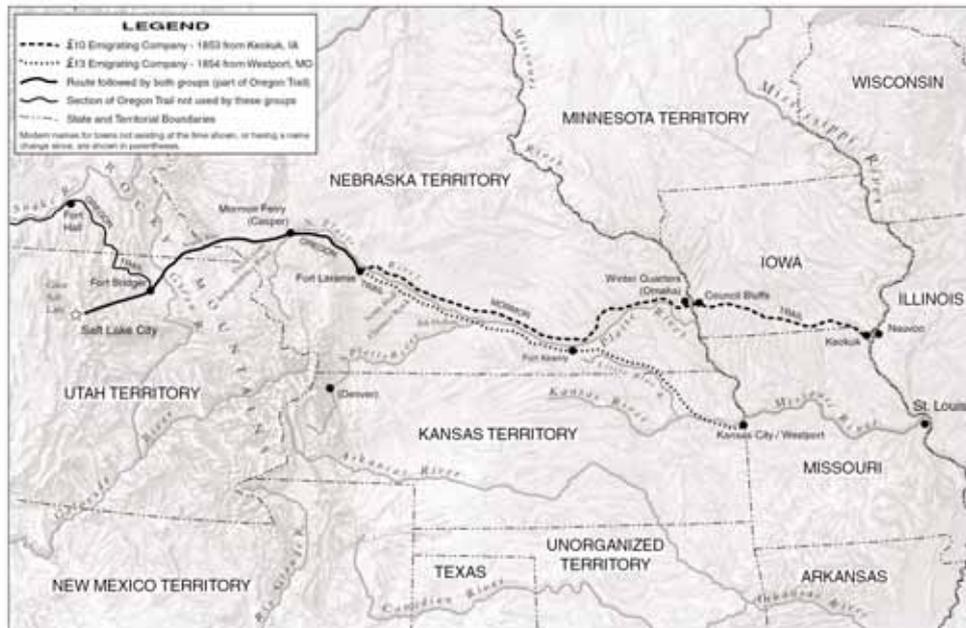
When they arrived at the outfitting grounds, the emigrants were turned over to the care of the frontier agent, who was Isaac Haight in 1853 and William Empey in 1854. The agent and his assistants, who became leaders of the companies across the plains, were assigned to buy oxen and cows, often driving them to camp over long distances; arranging for the wagons to be made to order in Cincinnati and St. Louis and brought by steamboat to the camp; and buying ox yokes, tent poles, chains, axes, Dutch ovens, ropes, and provisions. The emigrants made some tent poles and pegs in camp while they waited for their animals and wagons.⁵⁹

As the cattle and wagons arrived, the campground turned into a circus of sorts, or as Joseph Greaves put it, “When the cows came, life was something new for a tailor.” The animals were not used to working together, and the urban emigrants had to be taught to handle the teams. “Our cattle were

⁵⁷ *Millennial Star*, May 21, 1853.

⁵⁸ Davis, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 9–10. Davis said that Kaneshville (Council Bluffs) was called the “third Hell” (22).

⁵⁹ Isaac Haight, Journal, August 1852–February 1862, MS 1384, 44, 47–48, 52, LDS Archives; Horace S. Eldredge, Journal, September 1852–April 1854, MS 8795, reel 1, item 10, February 22 and March 21, 1853, LDS Archives; Appleton M. Harmon, *Appleton Milo Harmon Goes West*, ed. Maybelle Harmon Anderson (Berkeley, CA: The Gillick Press, 1946), 161; Peter McIntyre, “Autobiography of Peter McIntyre,” MS 3261, 39, LDS Archives. Isaac Haight, forty years old in 1853, had been a member of the Nauvoo police and was later implicated in the Mountain Meadows Massacre.



principally raw and our teamsters entirely so. *Routes taken in 1853 and 1854 by the £10 and £13 company emigrants.*

They were right from the factories in England and many of them had never seen an ox team,” wrote John Brown, the New Orleans agent who had arrived in Keokuk with the last party in 1853 and led a company across the plains. James Ririe wrote of his doubts, “I did not know how we could get through the Rocky Mountains with wooden axles, oxen, and a stick across the oxens’ necks to pull by. I had never seen any such outfit. American ways were all new to us.” Hannah Cornaby wrote that watching the men yoke the oxen “was the most laughable sight I had ever witnessed.”⁶⁰

Eventually, the frontier agent sent out companies one by one, often in mixed groups—PEF, £10, and independent—for he oversaw all three classes. In 1853 Haight organized nine companies varying in size from 79 to 400 emigrants. In 1854 Empey put together eight companies, one having 550 emigrants. When the last company departed, the agent went by horse from group to group to check on their progress and take care of problems, reaching Salt Lake City first so that he could greet them there upon arrival.⁶¹

Operations, however, did not go as planned. The monumental problem the frontier agent faced was procuring livestock, which had become scarce and costly. Ever since the Gold Rush had brought thousands of hungry

⁶⁰ Joseph Greaves to cousin, September 14, 1897; John Brown, *Autobiography of Pioneer John Brown, 1820–1896*, ed. John Z. Brown (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wallis, 1941), 132; Ririe, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 9:355; Cornaby, *Autobiography and Poems*, 32.

⁶¹ *Deseret News 1989–1990 Church Almanac*, 177–79; Linforth, “Introduction,” 53; *Millennial Star*, November 12, 1853.

miners to California, the price of beef had soared there. Speculators bought up cattle in the eastern states and drove them across the plains to the mining camps. The profits were enormous. In May 1853 the adventurous Italian count Leonetto Cipriani set out from Westport for California with 500 cows, 600 oxen, 60 horses, and 40 mules, which had cost him \$35,000. He expected to make \$200,000 in California even if he lost half the stock, a profit of more than 600 percent. Another speculator, John Hackett, set out in 1853 from Texas. He started with a herd of 937 cattle; by the time he reached California, he had only 182 remaining, but he still made money. Frederick Law Olmstead, traveling as a journalist to the Southwest in early 1854, reported seeing a California-bound "cattle train." The cattle had cost \$14 per head in Texas, and the men expected to sell them in California for \$100 each, a profit of more than 600 percent.⁶²

Cyrus Wheelock, who led one of the emigrant companies in 1853, wrote to Samuel Richards when he arrived in St. Louis at the end of March:

Elders Haight and Eldridge [*sic*] were off up the country in search of stock.... The California speculators have their agents out through all the Western States [i.e., Iowa, Illinois, and Missouri], buying up all cattle, horses, and sheep that they can lay hold of, and sending them off by tens of thousands to the markets on the Pacific coast, where it is said they command an incredible price. These operations...make prices enormous, compared with what they were some two or three years since, or even as late as last season.⁶³

When one considers that Fort Kearny recorded 105,792 cattle as having passed there by the middle of August 1853, it is hardly surprising that finding stock was difficult.⁶⁴ The men assisting Isaac Haight ranged far into Missouri and Illinois and then had a long drive to get the animals to camp in Iowa. Appleton Harmon said they had to go as far as Pettis County, Missouri, some 200 miles southwest of Keokuk, where they bought 805 oxen; they then spent a day branding the animals before starting the drive north. Heavy rains and wind that season made streams hazardous to cross and further delayed getting the stock to camp. Harmon wrote that they progressed "with exceeding toil through new country, guarding our cattle on the prairie, nights. The roads were much cut up and heavy with the late rains. The streams had to be crossed, and several times we were obliged to draw some of the cattle out of the mud and mire with ropes." Also on that cattle-fetching trip, Joseph W. Young bewailed, "This was one of the most severe & trying trips that man ever undertook...twenty-one days having to drive cattle all day & guard them at night, ferry & swim many streams of watter which were swollen to full banks."⁶⁵

⁶² Leonetto Cipriani, *California and Overland Diaries of Count Leonetto Cipriani from 1853 through 1871*, trans. and ed. Ernest Falbo (Portland, OR: Champoeg Press, 1962), 72; David Dary, *Cowboy Culture: A Saga of Five Centuries* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1980), 99; Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas, or a Saddle-Trip on the Southwestern Frontier* (1857; reprint Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), 274.

⁶³ *Millennial Star*, May 14, 1853.

⁶⁴ Dary, *Cowboy Culture*, 96.

⁶⁵ Haight, *Journal*, 52–59; Eldredge, *Journal*, April 5, 1853; Harmon, *Appleton Milo Harmon Goes West*, 159–160; Joseph W. Young, *Papers*, 122.



LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES

Isaac C. Haight, agent in charge of procuring oxen, wagons, supplies, and provisions for the emigrants in 1853. Photo probably taken in 1860s; photographer unknown.

With the higher price for livestock, the agents had to stretch the outfits. Twelve people rather than ten were assigned to a wagon and tent. With more people and their food allotment per wagon, the load of everything else had to be reduced, so luggage was cut almost in half.⁶⁶ As Stephen Forsdick related, “We were promised in England that we could each take a hundred pounds across the plains. Before we left Keokuk, we had to throw away our trunks, boxes, and some of our books, and make bags for our clothing, so that we probably averaged sixty pounds each.” Marie Shelmerdine wrote to her parents, “We had to sell all our books and our bed tick and flocks [mattresses] and best blankets and many things to lighten our luggage.” James Ririe reported that one milk cow had to be shared by thirty-six people instead of five, and the cow died when they reached the Sweetwater River.⁶⁷ Bacon was reduced from

two pounds per person per week to three-fourths of a pound.⁶⁸

Having run short of money, the agents had to choose between borrowing or making arrangements for some of the emigrants to remain on the frontier and find jobs and homes, with the hope they could get them to Utah the following year. The agents decided to borrow. Haight, recognizing that the wagons were too heavy for two yoke of oxen to pull, noted in his diary, “Started to go to St. Louis to negotiate a loan of some eight thousand dollars to purchase another yoke of cattle to each waggon but failed to obtain the money and returned [to Keokuk] much cast down in my mind as the season was getting late and the saints having some fourteen hundred miles to travel to the valley with very heavy loads.” He then turned to the PEF for a loan. He also asked to borrow money from at least one wealthy individual. Christopher J. Arthur related that Haight came to his father, Christopher A. Arthur, in Keokuk and asked for a loan; his father lent him \$1,000, which was paid back after Arthur and Haight reached Salt Lake

⁶⁶ Haight, *Journal*, 60–61. John Davis, however, said that in his 1853 company led by Joseph W. Young, death and apostasy reduced the company’s number by about 100, once again making about ten people to a wagon; see Davis, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 23.

⁶⁷ Forsdick, “On the Oregon Trail,” 38; Shelmerdine, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 12:360; Ririe, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 9:355.

⁶⁸ Davis, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 24. This reduction is a discrepancy with the list of provisions given earlier and in Table 1. As those figures were based on the 1854 £13 company rations, one must assume that in 1853 the emigrants started off with a slightly better allowance, at least for bacon, or that Davis failed to recall the correct amount.

City.⁶⁹ Besides cutting back on the outfits and borrowing money, the companies dealt with shortages as they neared Salt Lake City by sending men ahead to request assistance.⁷⁰

The agents were challenged beyond what they could have imagined. Isaac Haight a number of times admitted how “oppressed” he felt by the responsibility of outfitting the emigration. Joseph W. Young exclaimed, “No one can form a correct idea of the perplexity of fitting [*sic*] up a company of people who are unacquainted with traveling for a journey over the plains.” The agents must have realized that their predicament was forcing them to stretch things too far, putting everyone at risk. As the last of the 1853 companies started out, Haight, having done what he could to outfit them, but with doubts about its adequacy, wrote, “We all lef[t] camp bidding Keokuk and its inhabitants farewell and went out to the end of the plank.”⁷¹

One must listen to the £10 company emigrants to fathom the effect of the food shortages. James Ririe said the salt, sugar, and tea were gone before Fort Laramie, the halfway point, and some had finished their flour as well. With more than 500 miles to go before reaching Utah, the cattle began to give out: “When they could no longer work they were driven ahead of the train. When they could not walk any longer, they were butchered for beef and divided among the company. But such beef! It did keep the most of us alive until we got to Salt Lake,” recorded Ririe. The usually disgruntled John Davis described a near-revolution over the way food was apportioned in the camp just beyond Fort Laramie, but he did not agree with the complainers: “Some contended the victuals were not fairly divided, but I believe they were wrong.” Hannah Cornaby wrote that her group began to have serious trouble just after South Pass, when they were still more than 200 miles from Salt Lake City. Marie Shelmerdine wrote that her company finished its flour three weeks before they reached the Salt Lake Valley (i.e., someplace between Ft. Laramie and Independence Rock) and everything else long before that. She added, “The brethren came from the valley with some flour for us or we should have perished on the way.” Joseph Greaves described his terrible hunger: “I was so hungry the latter part of our journey that I had made up my mind that as soon as I got in the valley of Salt Lake I would commense [*sic*] to beg.... The people commenced to beg at every house they passed.”⁷²

Not all survived to reach the valley. James Ririe told of the family that

⁶⁹ Haight, Journal, 60–61; *Millennial Star*, November 26, 1853; Arthur, Records, 1:5. Christopher A. Arthur appears to have been a generous man, having already paid for the fare of forty people he brought with him from Wales; see Lyon, *John Lyon*, 172. Haight was not able to borrow enough to purchase an extra yoke of oxen per wagon.

⁷⁰ The records are incomplete because of a paper shortage that suspended the publishing of the *Deseret News* at the height of the emigration season from the end of July to October 1853, the time when appeals for aid were normally published; *Contributor* 13 (August 1892): 466.

⁷¹ Joseph W. Young, Papers, 123; Haight, Journal, 52, 58–59, 63.

⁷² Ririe, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 9:355–56; Davis, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 25; Cornaby, *Autobiography and Poems*, 35; Shelmerdine to her parents, October 29, 1853; Greaves to cousin, Sept. 14, 1897.

shared his wagon, the father of whom, Junius Crossland, a thirty-two-year-old umbrella maker from London, stinted himself in order to feed his three oldest children, a fourth having been born in the camp at Keokuk. At the Green River he became sick with mountain fever, and in his weakened condition he died west of Fort Bridger, eighty miles from Salt Lake City. "He said to me one day 'If I die, I should like to write my own epitaph.' 'What would you write, Brother Crossland?' 'I should write, I am murdered by the unwise procedure of the Ten Pound Company.'" Stephen Forsdick, of the same company, finished the story: "It was pitiful to hear the wife's lamentations when we took him out of the wagon, sewed up in a sheet to bury him."⁷³

One must not forget, however, that the emigrants believed they were reenacting the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, and most expected and even relished trials and hardship to some degree as a test of their worthiness.⁷⁴ John Davis, usually so negative about the trip, expressed the sentiment most probably felt: "I thought nothing of it [the privations], if the Lord should spare my life to reach the journey's end; we all kept up our spirits pretty well; I made up my mind to endure everything in order to reach the promised land, this sort of feeling seemed generally to pervade the whole camp." In addition, the emigrants experienced times of joy and assurance that they were following God's will. Mary Morris wrote that when the evening's work was done, "In the early part of our journey, when the days were long, we would sit on the yokes of the oxen and sing hymns."⁷⁵

When the emigrants finally arrived in Salt Lake City, Marie Shelmerdine lamented, "We landed here destitute of every comfort of life." Ririe noted that the cattle and wagons were sold as promised and the emigrants received \$3.50 each in credit from the Tithing Office, an amount confirmed by the £10 company account book.⁷⁶ John Davis, who apostatized nine months later, was sadly disappointed to receive his \$3.50, having expected \$20 to \$25 from the sale of the stock and wagons. He complained that they were not shown records of the sale and the \$3.50 was in Tithing Office scrip, not in cash.⁷⁷

Only one letter relating to the 1854 £13 company emigrants has been

⁷³ Ririe, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 9:356–57; Forsdick, "On the Oregon Trail to Zion," 47.

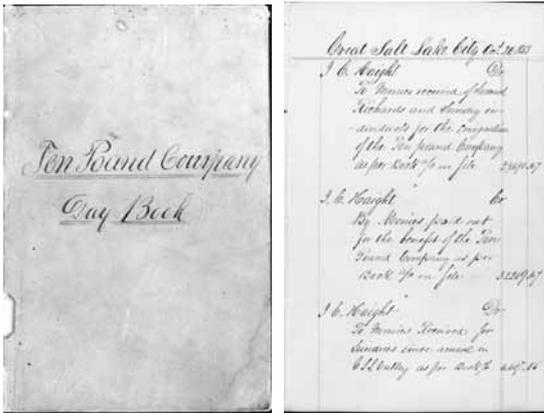
⁷⁴ D&C 136:31 reads, "My people must be tried in all things, that they may be prepared to receive the glory...of Zion; and he that will not bear chastisement is not worthy of my kingdom."

⁷⁵ Davis, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 24; Morris, *Journal History*, October 10, 1853, 3.

⁷⁶ Shelmerdine to her parents, October 29, 1853; Ririe, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 9:357–58; Ten Pound Company Account Book, Journal, "PEF Co. Financial Accounts, 1849–1855," CR 376 2, reel 19, fldr 70, 9–30, LDS Archives. I am indebted to Ronald G. Watt of the LDS Archives for helping me interpret these accounts.

⁷⁷ Davis, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 13–14, 27–28. Charles Derry also complained about the way the sale of the animals belonging to the £13 companies was handled: "When they arrived there [Salt Lake City] and each individual expected to receive his portion, instead of this being the case, the church brand was put on every animal and the name of the church (B.Y.) put on the wagons, and even if some poor man had found a stray ox, cow, or horse on the plains, the captain of his company would claim it on behalf of the church. But the poor man must be content if he gets there free of debt, without ever thinking of having what, in his simplicity, he supposed was his right"; see Derry, *Autobiography*, 513.

COURTESY OF LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES



Account book for the £10 company in 1853. First page of the £10 company account book.

found. Frederick Andrew wrote to Samuel Richards from Stockport, near Manchester, England, in early January that year. Having heard from Marie Shelmerdine and others, he asked Richards's advice about how his family should emigrate.

"We are still determined to go," he wrote, "but we see no necessity of punishing ourselves when it can be avoided. Nearly all the letters that has [sic] come from the Saints that went from Stockport last spring advise the Saints not to go by the ten pound company as they are so much punished and short of provisions." In her letter, Marie Shelmerdine had recommended that he wait, even if it meant several years, until he could afford to start the trek with eight to a wagon and three yoke of oxen, and then "you could come comfortable without fear." Samuel Richards must have written a persuasive response to Andrew, for Andrew ignored Shelmerdine's advice, donated altogether £50 to the PEF, and then emigrated under its auspices (the "donation and loan" plan).⁷⁸

The 1854 season saw problems similar to those of 1853 and others as well. First, there were fewer ships available in Liverpool because of the demand created by the Crimean War, which resulted in sailing delays and higher prices.⁷⁹ Fares had risen for the steamboats from New Orleans to St. Louis, from \$2.50 per adult in 1853 to \$3.00 or \$3.50 in 1854.⁸⁰ A yoke of oxen went from \$65 in 1853 to between \$75 and \$110. In addition, difficulty in procuring wagons delayed the start of the companies across the plains by three weeks.⁸¹

Worries about rising costs in 1854 suddenly seemed unimportant when the emigrants, especially the Scandinavians who arrived first, were struck by cholera on the rivers and at the outfitting ground at Westport, Missouri. Those who died on the rivers were swiftly buried in its soft banks when the steamboat stopped to take on wood; family and friends were all the more grief-stricken at having to quickly leave their loved ones behind in unmarked graves in the wilderness. William Empey, the outfitting agent

⁷⁸ Frederick Andrew to S. Richards, January 10, 1854, Frederick Chadwick Andrew, Diary, MS 1864, LDS Archives; Shelmerdine to her parents, October 29, 1853. For Andrew's donation, see passenger list for *John M. Wood*, sailed March 12, 1854, "Emigration Records from the Liverpool Office," LDS Archives.

⁷⁹ Appendix 1 in Piercy, *Route from Liverpool*, 130; *Millennial Star*, May 13, 1854.

⁸⁰ *Millennial Star*, April 30, 1853, April 22, 1854, June 10, 1854.

⁸¹ Haight, Journal, 53; *Millennial Star*, July 29, 1854.

that year, lamented in his diary in March, "It is awful to behold to see them taken & are dead in a few hours, turning black blue & to see the sufferings that they under go & to see the patience that they manifest & say all is well & pass off." However, when writing to Samuel Richards three months later, he saw meaning in those losses: "Truly the word of the Lord, through the Prophet Joseph, is receiving a more extensive fulfillment. The Destroyer rideth upon the waters, and the day is at hand when none shall go up to Zion except the pure in heart."⁸² Although the emigrants believed they would be tested to prove their worthiness, church historian Andrew Jenson, from his perspective of the 1890s, saw the tragedy for what it was: "In the whole history of the Latter-day Saints emigration, scarcely any thing is met with that is more heart-rending than some of the scenes of 1854, with the exception of the hand-cart experiences two years later."⁸³

The 1854 emigrant company led by Horace Eldredge suffered from lack of animals even after they started, finding they needed another twelve or fifteen yoke of lead oxen to move all the wagons at once. While men went back to buy more stock, the company struggled on by moving as many wagons forward as possible and then taking the oxen back to bring up the remaining ones, making some of the animals cover the same ground three times. With still two hundred miles to go before they even reached the halfway mark of Fort Laramie, their troubles were compounded when their stock stampeded. In a letter to Brigham Young, Eldredge wrote, "They broke away with a terrific rush and roar, and fled into the desert southwards, and amid the continuous sand-hills and buffaloes about 120 head were irrecoverably lost." After four days of searching, the company yoked up the cows and all the loose stock to move on slowly, while Eldredge went ahead, hoping to get assistance from other Mormon companies or to buy more oxen at Fort Laramie.⁸⁴ In the same letter to Young, Horace Eldredge and the others with him requested help. "The meat in our camp will soon be gone. We have flour enough to do us until we reach the South Pass [in southwest Wyoming]. We do not need many wagons sent from the valley, but we want plenty of teams. A very few horses and mules...would not be amiss, as we are now very destitute."⁸⁵

An appeal for aid for all the companies was published in the *Deseret News* at the end of August 1854. The Mormons were exhorted to respond not just from brotherly kindness but because "We are all one temporally as well as spiritually, literally as well as figuratively, or we are not what we profess to be...."⁸⁶ The calls from Brigham Young, the bishops, and the newspaper

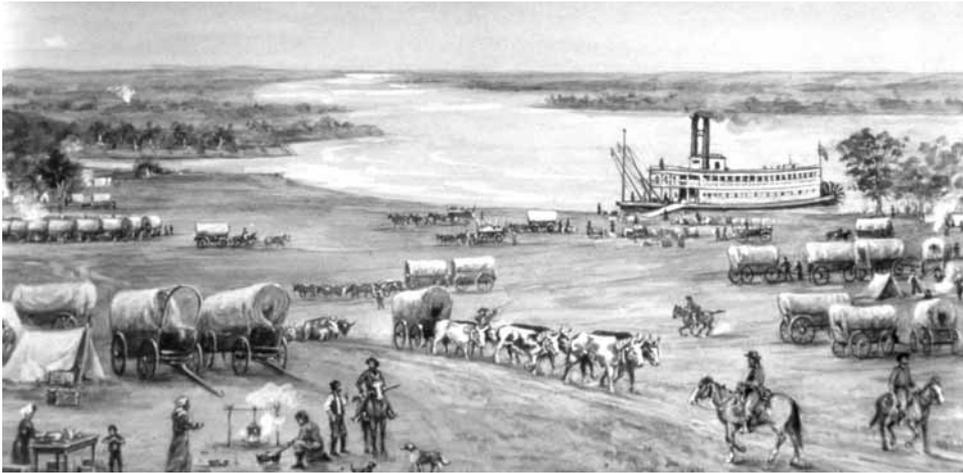
⁸² Empey, *Diary*, 110; *Millennial Star*, July 29, 1854. The concept of gathering the "pure in heart" comes from D&C 97:21.

⁸³ *Contributor* 13 (Sep 1892): 512.

⁸⁴ *Deseret News*, August 31, 1854, as quoted in *Journal History*, August 8, 1854, 2-4; *Millennial Star*, October 28, 1854.

⁸⁵ *Deseret News*, August 31, 1854.

⁸⁶ *Deseret News*, August 31, 1854, as quoted in *Journal History*, August 26, 1854, 1.



COURTESY OF NATIONAL PARKS SERVICE SCOTTS BLUFF

resulted in substantial help. In his letter of instructions to those charged with taking the food and teams back, Young laid out how it was to be handled: The items must be paid for or arrangements made for future payment; the price of flour was to be six cents a pound plus one or two cents more for each hundred miles it was transported; and for the £13 company members, the transactions must be carried out between the captain of the company and the captain of the wagons bringing help so that proper accounting could be made.⁸⁷

*Westport, Missouri, where the
Mormons outfitted in 1854.
Painting by William Henry
Jackson.*

No diaries or reminiscences by the £13 emigrants of 1854 have come to light, but undoubtedly the stories would have been similar to those of 1853. One reason for the paucity of accounts is that in 1853 there were 957 emigrants in the £10 companies, whereas in 1854 there were only eighty-six in the £13 companies. The cause for the dramatic drop was a new twist on the plan that Samuel Richards had devised: "I took upon myself the responsibility of emigrating all who could raise £10, and of making them responsible to the [PEF] Company for the remainder, and this I considered much better than allowing them to stay in the old country another year to raise the other £3, for in so doing they would lose one year.... All felt desirous to embrace this opportunity and hence the greatest portion of the emigration was the past season under the regulations of the Fund Company." Thus, many of those who were actually £13 emigrants were not listed as such but were listed in the PEF records. In addition, Brigham Young made more funds available for the PEF in 1854, increasing the Saints' interest in emigrating under its means.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Record of Robert Campbell's company, written by Thomas Sutherland, clerk, *Journal History*, October 28, 1854, 25–26.

⁸⁸ "Discourse by S. W. Richards," 6; *Millennial Star*, October 22, 1853.

Richards's move eventually led to the demise of the £10/£13 plan. On January 13, 1855, the *Millennial Star* announced that because of price increases the new plan would now cost £15. But a week later the paper reported that the £15 plan would be subsumed by the PEF. Franklin Richards, Samuel's brother and the new president of the British Mission, explained, "We fully anticipate that this arrangement will produce not only a more effective accomplishment of the overland journey, but of the sea and river passages. The Saints will also feel more satisfied in committing the entire control of their emigration to the systematized operations of the P. E. F. Company."⁸⁹ From an accounting standpoint as well, it made sense to eliminate the £15 plan; moving it into the PEF simplified bookkeeping and, as Brigham Young expressed it, "will save much perplexity to our agents."⁹⁰ Unfortunately, the rise in prices that influenced the termination of the £10/£13 scheme along with the drought and grasshopper plagues of 1855 in Utah stressed the financing of the PEF, and this led directly to the development of the handcart plan for the 1856 emigration.⁹¹

Although short-lived, the £10 and £13 companies played a significant role in gathering the poor to Utah. In 1853 more than 41 percent of the emigrants came through its auspices, equal to the percent that came independently. Over the two years, 1,043 emigrants came this way, a fourth of the total. Desiring to gather the Saints before the "last days" and to build up the population of Utah quickly, Brigham Young had whipped up emigration fever among the converts, but it remained for the twenty-eight-year-old British Mission president, Samuel W. Richards, to find a way to effect the nearly impossible. His efforts started the peak period of Mormon emigration. It is somewhat ironic that the same church leaders who received high praise for the manner in which they shipped emigrants out of Great Britain fell short in planning the overland portion. By 1853 the Mormons had had six years of experience in crossing the plains, but moving emigrants West still proved to be a much more complicated task than arranging the sea voyages. Richards deserves credit for his creativity but, along with the others who participated in the planning, also bears responsibility for faulty calculations. The problems of too much enthusiasm, too little food, and too many people to a wagon were compounded by factors out of Mormon control, particularly the spectacular rise in the price of livestock. The £10/£13 company plan was based on reducing everything to a minimum, leaving no room for the unforeseen.

Taking place during the first years in which the Mormons moved large numbers of poor members from Great Britain all the way through to Utah,

⁸⁹ *Millennial Star*, January 20, 1855. Leonard Arrington, in *Great Basin Kingdom: Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 99, states that there was a £15 company for 1855, but that is not strictly the case.

⁹⁰ *Millennial Star*, August 11, 1855.

⁹¹ William W. Slaughter and Michael Landon, *Trail of Hope: The Story of the Mormon Trail* (Salt Lake City: Shadow Mountain, 1997), 114-17.

the emigration was still a remarkable feat of organization. Horace Eldredge, the St. Louis agent, summarized its accomplishment: "In the spring of 1853, our emigration from Europe amounted to about three thousand souls and required over three hundred wagons and nearly two thousand head of cattle. It required an immense labor to deliver these at the overland starting point, besides purchasing the provisions, outfits and all the necessaries for a three or more months' camp life."⁹² Wallace Stegner recognized the unique organization: "These were not groups of young and reckless adventurers, nor were they isolated families or groups of families. They were literally villages on the march, villages of a sobriety, solidarity, and discipline unheard of anywhere else on the western trails...."⁹³

The Mormons—leaders and emigrants—were convinced the time was short before God would scorch the earth, destroying all who had not fled to Zion. They also believed God would try them on the way and that only if they endured the hardships, persevered, and proved worthy would they succeed. And many did. But in spite of the zeal, the creative plan, and the remarkable organization, perhaps a half-starved £10 emigrant who responded to Brigham Young's alluring words and suffered from the high prices and short provisions should have the last word. As James Ririe saw it, "It was a rough journey, taking it all in all."⁹⁴

⁹² Quoted in Edward W. Tullidge, *The History of Salt Lake City and Its Founders* (Salt Lake City: Edward W. Tullidge, 1886), 666.

⁹³ Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail* (Salt Lake City: Westwater Press, 1981), 11.

⁹⁴ Ririe, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 9:358.



UTAH DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION, USHS

Glimpses of Ice Skating and Coasting in Utah

By MIRIAM B. MURPHY and CRAIG FULLER

“But when the first cold days roll round
And the hillside’s smooth and white,
I take my sled and coasting go;
Oh, it is such a delight!”¹

For many Utahns whose recollections extend back decades to a time before most homes were heated by natural gas or electricity; before snowplows with their massive steel blades prowled city streets and country roads; before all-season radial tires were standard features on automobiles; before ski lifts, ski schools, and indoor skating rinks, winter was time for coasting, ice skating, sleighing, and having fun.

Horse-drawn sleighs were very popular at

Children sledding at Fifth North and Center Street, Salt Lake City, early twentieth century. The stop sign was installed by Lester Wire, head of the city’s traffic squad and inventor of the first stoplight in 1914.

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¹ *Ogden Morning Examiner*, January 31, 1910.

the end of the nineteenth century. Elizabeth B. Stevens of Millard County recalled: "I can remember going for a sleigh ride but it was one my father had made. He had put runners on [it], and it was one we had used on the farm a lot. We used to didn't have the snow that they have here in Holden. And we didn't have no sled to coast down hills because there were no hills. The country down there is flat, really flat. But I can remember him making a sleigh and he'd hook up the horses and he took us for...rides over the fields. We'd wrap up the hot flat irons in gunny sacks to put in the sleigh so our feet wouldn't get cold...."²

On many cold winter nights in rural West Jordan, groups of "young folks would pile into a big bobsleigh with four prancing horses...and over the roads, snow-packed and frozen" they would go, Clara B. Richards fondly remembered. "There were always plenty of warm quilts and sometimes hot rocks, and with candy and peanuts, jokes, songs and laughter we sped along with the clear cold light of the moon upon us. What better time could one ask to have?"³ "People of comfortable standing and plenty of means had their own horses and buggies and in winter their own sleighs," Walter A. Kerr of Ogden remembered. "In the [eighteen] eighties sleighing was very popular in Ogden. It was not an uncommon sight to see a well-built and beautiful sleigh drawn through the main streets of Ogden. No one ever thought of removing the snow [from the streets]. Sleighing parties for young people were a very common thing, and on a cold night in winter the sound and tinkling of bells of the horses was...quite common on Main Street."⁴ People living in Salt Lake City and Ogden likely purchased their sleighs from Consolidated Wagon and Machine Company, a trusted local manufacturer of wagons, buggies, and farm implements.

Bobsleighing continued to be a favorite winter activity well into the twentieth century. In Midway, Wasatch County, some of the older teenage boys turned the pastime into a more heart-pounding sport. Kay Probst, who grew up in Midway and later became the town's postmaster, recalled that when he was very young in the 1930s, "Everybody used to feed their cattle and when they'd come home from that, why a lot of them would bring the front bob of their bobsleigh down there [near Coleman's Store on Midway's main street] with their team hooked to them. They'd see how much they could shine.... They would get the team a going down here and...get them to pivot, ...and that sleigh would just slide sideways clear around. They'd keep it a going. Some of them got to be real good at it. And they let them kids hang on the other side." Probst called this bobsled stunt "shinning."⁵

² Elizabeth B. Stevens oral history interview, September 28, 1974, Pahvant Oral History Project, copy at Utah State Historical Society. Punctuation corrected.

³ Clara B. Richards, *Treasured Memories and West Jordan History, 1847-1866*, (Salt Lake City, 1966), 73.

⁴ Walter A. Kerr, "Reminiscences of Ogden in the Eighties," typescript, MS A 851-2, Utah State Historical Society.

⁵ Kay Probst, interview by Craig Fuller, July 20, 2001, Midway, Utah, USHS.



SALT LAKE TRIBUNE PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTION, USHS

Sleighriders, n.d.

Outdoor winter activities became even more popular with the advent of the clip-on ice skate and the “Flexible Flyer,” an innovation that revolutionized sledding. Before 1889, when Samuel Leeds Allen of Pennsylvania invented his “Flexible Flyer,” winter sleds were small wooden affairs with stiff wooden runners. The sled had to either be constantly pushed or pulled to maintain movement, and it lacked maneuverability. Such sleds were used for utilitarian purposes: transporting small children or hauling small amounts of cargo across crusted snow and ice. The Flexible Flyer, however, was designed for individual riders or coasters to “fly” down hills independent of pushers or pullers.

Allen’s invention replaced the wooden runners with a pair of flexible steel runners that curved upward at the front of the sled.

The steel runners were designed to permit some flexibility near the center of each steel runner, and when the rider pulled the cross handle left or right, the sled turned correspondingly. Skilled coasters developed a technique to increase the maneuverability of their sleds by dragging their feet to act like a boat’s rudder.

The Flexible Flyer was, according to Probst, the “Cadillac” of the new flexible sleds. Delbert Fowler recalled, “One of my choicest possessions was a flexible flyer, which I had most of my life. That was a sign of having something worthwhile.”⁶ In his autobiography, Carl Erwin Nelson recalled how much he “coveted” a Flexible Flyer. “When I was five or six years old...several of my friends had them and they were a status symbol of the highest order. If you had any other sleigh beside a Flexible Flyer, you just weren’t in the top strata.” For weeks prior to Christmas he “teased and pestered” his parents for the high-status symbol. However, instead of a Flexible Flyer his parents had bought him a “Fire Fly.” Disappointed and even embarrassed at first, Nelson quickly learned that “I could get down the hill faster than [the others] could.” It was not the sled but the rider that made the difference.⁷

Coasting became popular. A Park City correspondent for the *Salt Lake Herald* proclaimed, “Coasting is perfect and young and old are taking advantage of it, the air resounding with the merriment caused by the sport during the day and far into the night.”⁸ Utahns bought their sleds from

⁶ Delbert Fowler and Robert Blackburn, interview by Craig Fuller, July 29, 1999, USHS.

⁷ *Autobiography of Carl Erwin “Star” Nelson* (Privately published, 1992), Vol. 1: 41–42.

⁸ *Salt Lake Herald*, December 26, 1899.

local hardware stores or mail order catalogs. The Salt Lake Hardware Store, located at 168 South Main, advertised the Flexible Flyer as “the king of the hill—the eagle on the top and curve on the runner, as well as the speed, identifies the genuine.” Prices ranged from \$2.50 to \$6.00. The Freed Furniture and Carpet Company on east Broadway in Salt Lake City sold flexible sleds for as little as \$1.29. Not to be undersold, the Standard Furniture Company on south Main Street sold its “Coaster Steering Sled with a 32 inch gear” for only 98 cents.⁹

These less-expensive models and the hand-me-downs coasted just fine. The more expensive Flexible Flyer was out of reach for Probst’s family and others in Midway. “I could never afford one. We always bought a cheaper model. They came in about three different sizes. There was kind of a one-man flexible flyer. It was light enough you could pick it up and then run and slam it down and jump on it and away you’d go.”¹⁰ If the Heber Mercantile or other small-town hardware stores did not carry sleds or ice skates, mail-order catalogs listed these outdoor winter recreational items in their winter catalogs.

Of course, fun did not require even a look-alike Flexible Flyer. In Emery County, for instance, one former resident remembered that he and his friends found an automobile hood from an old Dodge car. It proved to be an excellent toboggan of sorts. After a long pull up to the top of Blue Hill on the outskirts of Huntington, the teenagers experienced an exhilarating ride. No doubt anything that could slide might be pressed into service.¹¹

In Ogden, Walter A. Kerr remembered that “coasting on all the streets of Ogden was taken for granted” during the 1880s—particularly those between Twenty-first and Twenty-seventh streets. However, the unlimited use of Ogden streets by winter fun-seekers was soon halted. Hack men, teamsters, and others apparently complained to the city about the coasters, and in 1894 the Ogden City Council passed an ordinance banning coasting on all of the city’s roadways and sidewalks. The ordinance stated: “It shall be unlawful for any boy or boys, person or persons, to coast or slide down hill with any sled, sleigh, toboggan or vehicle, upon any public street, sidewalk or alley of Ogden City.” Youthful violators who were caught and convicted of coasting illegally were fined as much as twenty dollars. However, so as not to be labeled by the youth of Ogden as the grouch that stole coasting, the city council did allow the mayor to authorize “any street or streets, avenue or avenues” to be set aside “for coasting for the winter season.”¹²

In Salt Lake City the ordinance prohibiting coasting on city streets took a bit longer to initiate. Each winter Salt Lake City newspapers regularly reported sledding accidents that resulted in broken bones, body lacerations,

⁹ *Deseret News*, various dates, December 1911; advertisements in *Salt Lake Herald*, December 13 and 20, 1914.

¹⁰ Probst interview.

¹¹ Kent Powell, conversation with Craig Fuller.

¹² Kerr, “Reminiscences of Ogden”; *Revised Ordinances of Ogden City, 1894*, 173.



SALT LAKE TRIBUNE COLLECTION, USHS

and in some cases even death. Pedestrians and onlookers also suffered in coasting accidents.

A Mrs. M. Anderson, who lived in the Marmalade District west of the State Capitol, was severely injured when speeding coasters knocked her down.¹³

Skaters at Brighton, 1940.

Complaining streetcar operators, teamsters, pedestrians, and a growing number of automobile owners forced Salt Lake City officials to pass its ordinance on coasting in 1903. Salt Lake City's ordinance banned the activity from all streets, sidewalks, and alleys within the city. It also authorized the mayor to designate "the use of any street or streets, avenue or avenues, for coasting during the winter season."¹⁴

The designation of coasting lanes did not prevent accidents and fatalities. One of the earliest deaths occurred when a ten-year-old boy crashed into a westbound Fort Douglas Number 3 streetcar while coasting near the corner of K Street and Third Avenue. No one saw the lad coming, witnesses reported. Indeed, the young boy was "flying" at a high rate of speed and could not guide his coaster around the slow-moving streetcar.¹⁵

For the next dozen years Salt Lake City apparently failed in its responsibility to designate specific city streets and avenues as coasting lanes. In January 1915 a rash of coasting accidents caused Salt Lake City police chief Brigham F. Grant to order a temporary suspension of all coasting on city

¹³ *Salt Lake Herald*, January 11, 1900.

¹⁴ *Revised Ordinances of Salt Lake City, 1903*, 137.

¹⁵ *Deseret News*, January 5, 1906. The death of Lorin Snowball was particularly tragic to his mother, Mary. Earlier in the year Mary had lost her husband to diphtheria and had also lost a baby from "complications."

streets until the city commission or mayor could once again designate various city streets and avenues as coasting lanes. The upsurge in accidents began on New Year's Day, 1915, when a boy age six was killed and his older brother seriously injured while they were riding on a large schooner or toboggan with seven other friends. The schooner slammed into Salt Lake City's Number 6 streetcar at the corner of Tenth East and Second South. That same day, two brothers, ages four and ten, ran into a telephone pole at the bottom of Third Avenue and City Creek Canyon. One of the boys received a skull fracture in the collision.¹⁶ Days later, a thirteen-year-old girl was killed and several other teenagers badly injured while coasting on the Second North Street hill, a favorite coasting hill for many youths living in the Marmalade District. The street was "considered one of the most ideal places in the city for coasting purposes," the newspaper reported, because it had little vehicular traffic.¹⁷

Chief Grant was very serious about his ban. He requested that residents patrol the neighborhoods and call the police if they saw violations. On one weekday evening, the police took as many as seven boys who defied the order into custody. Pressure from hundreds of unhappy coasters and representatives from the home and school league mounted, however, and Heber M. Wells, former governor and now commissioner of the city's department of parks and public property, once again designated various streets as coasting lanes. On these streets, automobile traffic was restricted between seven and eleven p.m.¹⁸ Some of the streets designated as coasting lanes were Fourth North from Capitol Hill to Second West; Second North from Center to Second West; C, D, and K streets from Ninth Avenue to First Avenue; First Avenue from V to J Streets; Second South from Twelfth East to Eleventh East; and Third South from Thirteenth East to Ninth East.

The city's daily newspapers frequently touted outdoor activities during the winter months: "The young folks must have winter diversions and there is no better place in all the country than Salt Lake and vicinity,"¹⁹ wrote one reporter. But increased automobile traffic in the 1920s threatened the program of designating city streets as coasting lanes. The *Deseret News* took seriously the rumors that coasting would be prohibited. "The sport of coasting is too exhilarating and brings enjoyment to so many youngsters—and older folk as well—that its complete prohibition is scarcely to be considered."²⁰ On another occasion the newspaper chastised motorists for demanding their rights to the streets. An editorial column

¹⁶ *Salt Lake Herald*, January 2, 1915. Snowfall during the months of January and February in downtown Salt Lake City averaged about eleven inches between 1885 and 1953, thus making good snow conditions for coasting. See R. Clayton Brough and Dale J. Stevens, "Climatography of Salt Lake City" (1988), USHS, pamphlet 20374.

¹⁷ *Salt Lake Herald*, January 15, 1915.

¹⁸ *Salt Lake Herald*, January 16, 1915.

¹⁹ *Deseret News*, December 9, 1924.

²⁰ *Deseret News*, December 20, 1920.

urged motorists in the city “to forgo for a few days some of those rights in the interest of the pleasure and especially the protection of our boys and girls. There is something lacking in the makeup of any man who, merely because the traffic regulations limit coasters to certain streets and allow him to drive at 25 or 30 miles an hour on and across all other streets, will insist upon his precious personal rights at no matter what peril to others.” If a driver was not willing to slow down and keep full control of his automobile, then “he is not as good a citizen as he should be. Let everybody for a few days give youth a chance to have its merry fling—and we’ll all be the happier and better for it.”²¹

Despite the rumors, Salt Lake City continued to designate as many as eighteen city streets at a time as coasting lanes. In the late 1930s popular areas included the Emigration Creek gully at Fifteenth East and Blaine Avenue; Westminster Avenue at Thirteenth East, Ramona Avenue at Eleventh East, Emigration Hollow near Fifteenth East and Ninth South, Stratford Avenue at Highland Drive, Bonneville on the Hill sub-division located along the lower end of Dry Canyon and near the block “U,” Ensign Flats, Bonneville Golf Course, and Lindsay Gardens.

Among the more popular coasting lanes in the 1920s was Third South, beginning at the top of Fuller’s Hill at about Twelfth East and extending west to Ninth East. The steep grade made for a thrill-packed ride by the time coasters reached the bottom of the hill at Eleventh East. Glenn Fuller, who lived nearby, recalled that he and his pals would hurry home at the end of school in January and February, grab their sleds, and head to the top of the hill for a “flying” coast down.²² After school, Fuller was able to complete only one ride before the dinner hour. But on weekends he and his friends spent hours at this exciting pastime. When the conditions were just right, they could coast to Seventh East, making for an extended ride.

Pulling their sleds back to the top of Third South, coasters participated in a cooperative effort, taking turns at each cross street to warn oncoming motorists to watch for sledders. Elsewhere in the city, warning flags posted at the coasting lane intersections reminded motorists to be cautious. Occasionally, adult service organizations were asked to patrol coasting lanes as well.

Good technique and form were important to a good ride. Delbert Fowler and Robert Blackburn described the proper technique: “You would carry your sleigh with hands on both sides of the sled and go running down the hill and slam it in front of you to get a good running start.”²³ This

²¹ *Deseret News*, January 30, 1922. It must be remembered the city’s newspapers employed dozens of newspaper boys who were enthusiastic coasters.

²² Fuller’s Hill, identified on several maps of the nineteen teens and nineteen twenties, was located roughly between 200 South and 500 South and between 1100 East and 1200 East. During the summer months, Fuller’s Hill was a popular picnicking and play area for residents of the northeast quadrant of Salt Lake City.

²³ Fowler and Blackburn interview.

technique is very similar to the sport of skeleton, in which athletes begin with a running start and slide headfirst down a track.

Not all city neighborhoods had designated coasting lanes. Fowler remembered that his first coasting thrills were in his backyard in Salt Lake City. As a ten- or eleven-year-old during the Great Depression, he and his family lived near Jackson Elementary School. Fowler's father, a plastering contractor, built a small coasting hill in the backyard using scaffolding and planks covered with snow, which was then sprayed with water, turning the man-made, ten-foot-high slide into a short but fast thrill.²⁴

Coasting activities sometimes encouraged mischievous pranks. Park City officials followed the pattern set earlier in Ogden and Salt Lake City and passed an ordinance prohibiting coasting on all streets except Woodside Avenue. However, many Park City boys refused to abide by the city's restrictions. To avoid being caught, the boys devised a unique warning system. When look-outs posted at strategic locations sighted a man of the law approaching, they would yell, "chisel!" The code word "shovel" indicated that the coasters should wait a few minutes, and "pick" was the all-clear signal, meaning that coasting could resume.²⁵

Occasionally, the tomfoolery grew mean-spirited. On one occasion in Park City a group of five "ladies" and their male "escort" were coasting at a high rate of speed down a designated coasting lane. The sled suddenly "balked with awful suddenness, and for a space of but a few moments there was a moonlight display of shapely limbs, openwork stockings and dainty lingerie that would shame a fashion place in comparison," a witness reported. "Mild cuss words from fair lips" were heard as the bobsledding party passed another onlooker. Fortunately, there were no serious injuries, only the need for some gentle rubbing of bruised legs and arms. After the mishap, the victims discovered that pranksters had spread a broad band of ashes from a wood stove across the lane.²⁶

Like coasting, ice skating was once a widespread pleasure. For example, the Uinta Basin's colorful John Jarvie and his wife Nellie operated a general store and trading post in Brown's Park from about 1880 to 1909. In that remote locale the store provided more varied entertainment than the



COURTESY OF SHARON ADAIR ANDRUS

Sharon Adair at Bryce Canyon, 1940.

²⁴ Fowler and Blackburn interview.

²⁵ Philip F. Notarianni, "The Mansion, Mining, and Snow," photocopy in possession of author; *Park Record*, December 20, 1902.

²⁶ *Park Record*, February 21, 1903.



COURTESY: MUHLSTEIN SCULPTURES

**Bronze sculpture "Flyin" by
Blair Muhlstein**

average strip mall of today does. The shopkeeper reported on current events and on the books he was reading, dabbled in phrenology, recited poetry, sang, and played chess with his customers. In his free time he "often engaged local children in foot races and ice-skating competitions." Meanwhile, southeast of the

Uinta Basin hamlet of Ashley, Ira Burton and his family excavated a lake in 1900. Fed by Ashley Creek, the lake at Burton Resort provided fishing, boating, and swimming in the summer and ice-skating in the winter. Vernal banker "N. J. Meagher was considered a professional skater and performed on the lake."²⁷

The remote Box Elder County boomtown of Corinne, which flourished briefly following the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, boasted one of Utah's first baseball teams, a two-story hotel, a slew of saloons, and an ice-skating pond. And when the Bear River froze, local people skated on it. Honeyville, another small Box Elder town, had fewer bars than Corinne but more facilities for winter activities. In the early 1900s Honeyville residents could skate on a local pond or test their sleigh- and toboggan-riding skills on "Killer Hill."²⁸ In Davis County, William D. Major took over the old Kimball mill in Bountiful in the 1890s. There he operated "a confectionery inside the mill and maintained the millpond for swimming and ice-skating."²⁹

The popularity of skating grew to such an extent that early in the century, parks commissioner Heber Wells established several ice skating venues in Salt Lake City. Thousands of youngsters learned to skate on the Liberty Park pond. Dayle White, whose parents had "spent many happy hours skating on the Slough" in Meadow, Millard County, herself skated with family and friends at Liberty Park in the 1940s. After the pond froze hard, "all ages

²⁷ Yvette Derr Ison, "John Jarvie's 'The Sage of the Uintahs, the Genius of Brown's Park,'" *Utah History Blazer*, July 1995, USHS; Doris Karren Burton, *Settlements of Uintah County: Digging Deeper* (Vernal, UT: Uintah County Library, 1998), 45.

²⁸ Frederick M. Huchel, *A History of Box Elder County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Box Elder County Commission, 1999), 329, 354; Brigham D. Madsen, "Frolics and Free Schools for the Youthful Gentiles of Corinne," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (1980): 232.

²⁹ Glen M. Leonard, *A History of Davis County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Davis County Commission, 1999), 231.

came to skate.... It was free.” Large metal fire barrels around the edge of the pond, full of glowing coals, allowed the skaters to warm their hands and wet mittens.³⁰ The city also created skating rinks at Central Park, the Riverside School grounds, at Seventh South and Seventh West, and at Fourth South between Ninth and Tenth West streets. At these locations, crews piled up dirt to impound water that was turned into the area to form thin ice sheets. Wells appointed a committee of leading citizens—James R. Griffith, Laura L. Tanner, Agnes E. Evans, Charlotte Stewart, and John Malick—“to care for and supervise...coasting and skating” in the city.³¹

Skaters of the day could also visit private rinks. Cloyd F. Woolley recalled that near the turn of the century the Heath brothers ran an ice-skating rink in Salt Lake City “midway between 9th and 10th South...on the east side of State [Street]....We used to sneak in. There were guards to prevent this but they were hardly an obstacle.”³²

Before Morgan County built a skating rink in Morgan, Jim Compton “prepared an ice sheet on the vacant lot at the corner of 100 South and 200 East Street....at no charge, but simply for the enjoyment of the youth of the county.” Provo City took a similar approach, using depression-era recreation programs offered by the federal government to introduce ice-skating at the North Park ball diamond. When attempts to flood that site proved unsatisfactory, recreation leaders tried spraying it with water at night and “shading the rink with burlap curtains during the day.” As many as 800 people skated there in a single evening. The ball field lights illuminated the ice. Skaters glided to “music...played over a loudspeaker...[and] discarded Christmas trees set around the borders added greatly to the charm of the rink.” The Hi Low Lake area near Clover Beds in Beaver County was also the scene of winter recreational activity during the depression. In March 1938 a ski run more than a mile long opened, and “an ice-skating pond and hills for tobogganing and sledding were also developed.”³³

George Remund of Midway built a rink for the youth of the town on the town square. That same spirit was renewed in recent years when a few of Midway’s citizens who had skated on Remund’s community ice rink came together to build a rink where children and adults of Midway and Heber Valley could skate safely. Local suppliers provided free or at-cost materials; and citizens bought dozens of ice skates and refurbished an old Zamboni to maintain the surface of the ice.³⁴

³⁰ Dayle and Clyde L. White to Miriam Murphy, March 20, 2001.

³¹ *Salt Lake Herald*, January 16, 1915.

³² Olive W. Burt, ed., “Bicycle Racing and the Salt Palace: Two Letters,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (1982): 162.

³³ Linda H. Smith, *A History of Morgan County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Morgan County Commission, 1999), 390; “Public Recreation in Provo,” *Utah History Blazer*, August 1996; Martha Sonntag Bradley, *A History of Beaver County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Beaver County Commission, 1999), 261–62.

³⁴ Probst interview.



COURTESY OF SHARON ADAIR ANDRUS

Sharon Adair on the Little Draper Canal in Draper, Christmas 1947.

But these “official” ice sheets only symbolize the long-standing, widespread popularity of skating. Long before (and after) communities organized the sport, skaters were adept at finding their own venues. Ruth Leigh Cox, who grew up in the small town of Lund in Iron County, remembered “ice-skating in the winter on frozen puddles on Main Street.”³⁵ According to William W. Terry, two large ponds in Ogden furnished excellent skating when they froze in winter—Cardon Pond on the north side of Ogden River near Brinker

Avenue and the pond behind the Mack gristmill at 1440 Washington. While Terry and his friends waited for thick ice to form, checking the ponds every day, they sharpened the blades on their skates. Clamps held the boys’ skates to the soles and heels of their shoes, while the girls’ model was clamped in front and strapped around the ankle.³⁶

As a youngster living in Laketown, Rich County, Clayton Robinson received his first pair of clamp-on skates, a gift that eclipsed the usual orange or little toy in his stocking. Wearing hard leather shoes, “I could screw the toe part on with a wrench and fasten the back part on with a strap around the ankle.” Robinson skated and played ice hockey on several ponds west of Laketown.³⁷ While going to and from school he would also skate on the thin sheets of ice caused by the operations of the gristmill south of town.

During the winter months the town ditches were generally frozen, and the mill water running in the ditches would spill onto the town’s streets,

³⁵ Janet Burton Seegmiller, *A History of Iron County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Iron County Commission, 1998), 177.

³⁶ William W. Terry, *Weber County Is Worth Knowing* (Ogden, UT: self-published, 1989?), 300; Richard C. Roberts and Richard W. Sadler, *A History of Weber County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Weber County Commission, 1997), 187.

³⁷ Elgie and Clayton Robinson interview by Craig Fuller, August 13, 2001.

forming thin patches of ice. These little patches made for a lot of fun.³⁸

Hooper businessman Greg W. Haws wrote a vivid account of the fun he and his cousins had as teenagers:

We all had our own ice skates and the frozen ponds near the [Weber] river became our skating spots. We often would burn a tire for heat. Those tires would burn hot forever, and they stunk. Often we took hot chocolate and we had real parties. I remember a Sunday school party where we ice skated on the "south run" of the Weber River. I felt like Hans Christian Andersen or someone from Norway as I skated along the river.

We cousins had our special pond called "Dead Goose." We named it because one year we found a frozen dead goose in the middle of the ice. [The pond] also had a barbed wire fence going right through the middle of it. We would jump the fence in our skates. It was thrilling, but I remember falling more than once. My Dad even made a skating rink next to our house on our south lawn. It was fun to just walk out of the door and skate. We would often shovel the snow off and make paths that soon became tracks for competitive skating and races. Later, as older cousins became drivers, we would ride to Dead Goose.... Often cars got stuck in the snow and mud, as there was not a road. Today there are homes very near Dead Goose, which was in the pasturelands near the river [and] 6100 South.³⁹

In the rural areas of the Salt Lake Valley, skaters glided on small ponds and irrigation canals. Two favorite canals were the South Jordan and the Utah and Salt Lake canals, which also offered excellent swimming in the summer.⁴⁰ Ed Cooper remembered that many teenagers were still skating on the several irrigation canals running through the east side of the valley in the 1940s and early 1950s. They "would skate for miles in the canal[s]." A small pond located near the corner of State Street and 6400 South was another favorite location for Cooper and other skaters. A fire there provided a place for skaters to warm up and roast wieners and marshmallows.⁴¹

Dorothy L. Peterson lived close to Salt Lake City's Memory Grove in the early 1930s. During the summer she and her friends played ball, hide-and-seek, and run-my-sheepie-run there. When winter came, "you'd find us all up in Memory Grove ice-skating on the pond." City firemen stationed nearby scraped the snow from the ice. Crack-the-whip was a favorite



COURTESY OF JEAN BIRD

**Johnny Bird and Lu Jean Jensen
at Decker Lake, New Year's Day,
1947. The couple later married.**

³⁸ Robinson interview.

³⁹ Greg W. Haws, "Hooper, Utah, and its Sons of Ditches," MS, photocopy in author's possession.

⁴⁰ Bernarr S. Furse, ed., *A History of West Jordan* (City of West Jordan, 1995), 96.

⁴¹ Ed Cooper to Craig Fuller, November 15, 1999.

game, and once, Dorothy wrote, "I wanted to be the last one in the line. On the first crack I went flying through the air and landed face down.... Everyone came over to see how I was, and with that many kids in one spot the ice began to crack." No one came to serious harm, fortunately, but Dorothy sported a black eye for a week. She did not mind too much because skating with her friends "was a very choice experience."⁴²

In the winter of 1946–47 Jean Decker and her friends would "drive out to Decker Lake [in West Valley]...to ice skate.... The first ones there would build a fire and keep it burning with old tires.... The ice was not very smooth but we didn't care. There were no lights, but the moonlight on the ice and snow was adequate when it got late. We skated for fun, not competition."⁴³

Wanda Dahle, who "just loved ice-skating," skated in the late 1930s on ponds that are now part of the Old Farm condominium complex south of 3900 South in Salt Lake City. Boys would scrape snow from the ice in order to skate or play hockey, and skaters' cars lined Fifth and Seventh East streets. Nearby Peale's Pond also attracted hundreds of skaters, who often built fires at the pond's edge. When twenty or more people lined up to play crack-the-whip, Dahle said, "you could see the ice move."⁴⁴

Kay Probst recalled skating on an ice-pond located just outside Midway near the Provo River. Ice-ponds presented unusual hazards for ice skaters. During the course of the winter, men would harvest ice in large sections and store it in icehouses for use during the summer months. Several times on this Midway ice pond, Probst skated into open water or onto very thin ice. "Man, you'd skate into one of them [open areas free of ice] and you'd be coming at such a speed you'd go clear across and hit ... just above your knees when you hit the other side. Oh man, it was a wonder we didn't get broken legs." Asked if he received any injuries while skating on the pond, Probst recalled, "I never did, and I don't know of anybody that did. But I sure got wet a lot of times falling through, cause you couldn't tell, you know, where they had harvested ice the day before. It was just a thin scum on top."⁴⁵

For Christmas 1947, Sharon Adair Andrus received a gift of white figure skates—a fulfillment of a dream. "Sonja Henie was our idol," she wrote. "My brother named his first daughter Sonja after her." Draper Canal, a few blocks from the Adair home, provided a place to swim in summer and a perfect place to ice skate in winter. The children could skate from their aunt and uncle's property in east Draper "to Sharp's Pond in northeast Draper and even...across town as far as Hansen's pond to the northwest. Of course it meant going through a few barbed wire fences, but that was no

⁴² Dorothy L. Peterson to Miriam Murphy, March 19, 2001.

⁴³ Jean Bird to Miriam Murphy, June 23, 2001.

⁴⁴ Wanda Dahle to Miriam Murphy, telephone interview, March 19, 2001.

⁴⁵ Kay Probst interview.

problem for the young and able.” On Saturday afternoons young people with skates frequently met at Sharp’s Pond, “built a fire and skated into the early evening.”⁴⁶

Sharon’s husband, Calvin Andrus, who also grew up in Draper, remembered when, in the winter of 1945–46, he received hockey skates and left sleigh riding to the “little kids.” On winter weekends he joined friends at the big canal to skate. At first his ankles hurt, “but with a little time and practice [he] could do fancy turns and skate backwards...to impress the girls...[in] their fancy white figure skates....” Inevitably, he wrote, “the rough and tumble school-lawn football games” of fall evolved into hockey games on Hansen’s pond. Challenged by “boys a year or two older” to defend their “manly status,” Andrus and his friends took to the ice. “Not so sophisticated as to have real hockey sticks,” the teams used brooms. “Somehow the brooms got replaced with tree branches, and injuries soon discouraged participation.” Although his cousins introduced him to the excitement of tobogganing, Andrus continued to prefer ice-skating.⁴⁷

In 1959 Sharon and Calvin Andrus moved to Brigham City, where they continued to enjoy ice-skating with their children: “The pond at Rees Pioneer Park froze over and was used for many years to ice-skate on. The ice-skating was especially good the week after Christmas when school was out and everyone could skate every day. People took turns scraping the snow off the pond. Sometimes the January thaw ruined the ice and ended the skating for another year.”⁴⁸

John R. Ward, who grew up in Willard, liked to sled and ski—pulled by a horse or wagon—on the town streets. But ice-skating at night on the lake below Willard was the most fun. The boys would place four old tires on the ice to mark the goals, set them on fire, “and proceed to play the game we called ‘pomp’ or tag. The object of the game was to skate from one set of goals through the other set about 70 yards away without being touched by those who had been tagged early and were now ‘it’. Some nights we would not get home until midnight, when temperatures could go as low as zero.”⁴⁹

Youngsters frequently invented new, creative ways to have fun in the winter.

“Hitching” became a popular but rather dangerous winter activity in the 1940s and 1950s.⁵⁰ Wearing slick leather-soled shoes, the hitcher or “hooky bobber” would grab the back bumper of a passing car, squat down, and

⁴⁶ Sharon Adair Andrus, “Ice Skates for Christmas,” typescript in author’s possession.

⁴⁷ Calvin Andrus, “Wintertime Sports,” typescript in author’s possession.

⁴⁸ Andrus, “Ice Skates for Christmas.”

⁴⁹ John R. Ward, Fresno, California, to author, April 16, 2001.

⁵⁰ Fowler and Blackhurst interview. This activity seems to be universal. In Alberta, Canada, it is called “bumpering.” Correspondence, Suzanne Montgomery to Craig Fuller, November 5, 1999. In Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Montpelier, Idaho, it is called “hooky bobbing”; Kevin Jones to Craig Fuller, December 3, 1999, and communications with Craig Fuller from Ross Peterson. In Utah County it is called “bizzing” or “bum riding.” See Frederick Gomes Cassidy, ed., *Dictionary of American Regional English* (Cambridge, MA: Belnap Press of Harvard University Press, 1985), 1: 252.

slide along the snow-packed roadway. Of course, this activity had to occur before the streets had been plowed and sanded by city street crews. Generally, hitching was done unbeknownst to the driver of the automobile. Sherm Fuller, brother of the co-author, recalled that some of his teenage friends would venture to Thirteenth East near Westminster College, away from watchful eyes of parents and neighbors, to do their hitching. To get a passing car to slow down, another friend would walk in front of the approaching car, causing it to slow down long enough for two or three others to grab the bumper and "hitch" an exciting ride. The best place to hold on was the left rear fender. From here the hitcher had the best possible view of the street ahead and could let go before the car passed over a dry manhole cover. Automobiles made before the 1960s were not required to have outside mirrors; thus, drivers might not see the hitchers. Further, car bumpers then were extended from the body of the automobile, making it rather easy to grab on for a fast ride.

When World War II began, winter sports changed. Young men and women went off to war or took jobs that supported the war effort. Younger boys and girls continued to skate on canals and ponds, but gradually the canals and ponds became fenced off or filled in as open spaces gave way to suburbs after the war. New generations of skaters enjoyed their sport at public and private ice rinks, where they were not warmed by tire fires or challenged by barbed wire fences. Ice-skating, like many childhood sports, became more organized and more competitive.

At the same time, the streets of Salt Lake City, Ogden, Provo, Logan, and elsewhere became increasingly clogged with vehicular traffic. Improved snow removal and the use of salt and sand on city streets made coasting on the streets impractical. A few new coasting hills were established in the valley, among them a short sledding hill at Sugarhouse Park after the state prison was relocated to Point of the Mountain in the 1950s. But the development of ski areas, cross country skis, and other outdoor and indoor amusements drew many people away from unorganized sports like coasting and ice skating.

Thus, the face of winter sports has changed. It is a rare child who has access to a slope or pond for impromptu fun. Utahns continue to enjoy skiing, skating, and other sports, but often they turn to commercial venues: manicured ski runs, perfect ice surfaces in warm buildings, and a multi-million-dollar bobsled run. The wooden Flexible Flyer with its steel runners may have been replaced with sleds and bobsleds made of lightweight composite materials, but having fun remains a constant.



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The Forest Service Takes to the Slopes: The Birth of Utah's Ski Industry and the Role of the Forest Service

By JOSEPH ARAVE

When the Organic Act of 1905 created the U.S. Forest Service, no one could have foreseen the scope of that agency's involvement in Utah's vast array of winter recreation. The charge to the Forest Service upon its creation was to manage our national forest reserves for the greatest good for the greatest number of people. To the managers, the mission of the agency was toward the "economic use of the forest resources guided by principals of scientific forest management"¹ That belief, strongly held by the agency's first chief, Gifford Pinchot, influenced decision-making in the agency for decades. A philosophy of sustained yield and conservation were important to a growing nation that had seen abuse of forest resources during the latter part of the nineteenth century.² Even though many people enjoyed hiking, hunting, camping, and fishing on national forest lands, *Snowbasin chairlift, March 1946.*

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¹ J. Douglas Wellman, *Wildland Recreation Policy* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1987), 81.

² *Ibid.*, 68.

to most foresters, managing for the greatest good meant timber, grazing, and watershed management. Forest supervisors and rangers saw their jobs as the management of the forests in a way that would promote economic activity for the benefit of local and national economies. It would be some years before recreation was seen as part of that economic picture. Within the next two decades, however, provisions for recreational uses gradually began to make their way into Forest Service policy.³

Following World War I, many veterans possessed automobiles and knew all about outdoor life. With surplus equipment and the means to travel available to the public, the numbers of people who used national forest lands as a recreational resource soared. The Forest Service found itself in the business of recreation. For instance, in an effort to reduce the danger of fire and the spread of garbage, the agency began to develop campgrounds in 1922.⁴

In January 1915 a handful of Norwegian immigrants officially introduced the sport of ski jumping into Utah. By the 1920s, the sport was rapidly gaining in popularity as a spectator sport.⁵ During the decades of the 1920s and '30s, crowds sometimes numbering in the thousands would thrill to the daring of professional ski jumpers. Many of the Scandinavian jumpers were part of professional teams that toured the country providing exhibitions and competing in tournaments. For most of the general public, professional jumping embodied all they knew of skiing.⁶

At the same time, however, small groups of rugged individuals (such as members of the Wasatch Mountain Club) began to experience firsthand the exhilaration of nature's pristine winter environment. These early winter recreationists ventured into the canyons of the Wasatch Mountains and there discovered the wonders of the high mountains in winter. As they increasingly enjoyed the thrills of downhill skiing, these pioneers worked on making turns with their skis and gradually learned to control them for enjoyment and safety.⁷

The new sport of alpine skiing naturally took participants into the mountainous regions of the state. The majority of beautiful alpine terrain that beckoned the spirits of adventurous skiers was public land under the jurisdiction of the United States Department of Agriculture Forest Service. As the new activity became popular, people began to look for ways to get skiers up the mountain so they could enjoy more time in exhilarating glides down the hills. By the late 1930s, industrious individuals began to devise various means of transporting skiers up the mountain.⁸

Although some in the Forest Service saw the new popularity of skiing as

³ Douglas Knudson, *Outdoor Recreation* (revised ed., New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1984), 270.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 272.

⁵ Alan Engen, *For the Love of Skiing: A Visual History* (Layton, UT: Gibbs Smith, 1998), 32.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁷ Interview with Ralph Johnston, Ogden, Utah, July 29, 1991.

⁸ Interview with Jack Green, Salt Lake City, Utah, July 1989; interview with K Smith, Salt Lake City, Utah, June 1989.

an opportunity to promote the use of national forests for recreational purposes and thus benefit the community, others resisted. The U.S. Forest Service was a relatively young agency, and its primary mission from the outset had been to manage for multiple use relating to timber, grazing, and watersheds. While exact motives are unclear, it can only be assumed that the Forest Service was unaccustomed to new activities such as skiing. In some ways, the Forest Service became involved in skiing by default, since the mountainous areas upon which the public wanted to ski were national forest lands.⁹



Felix C. Koziol.

On the other hand, some officials, in particular Wasatch Forest Supervisor Felix C. Koziol, personally enjoyed the activity. Koziol became a great promoter and supporter of skiing. Enthusiastic about the opportunities for economic benefit to the community, he began to look for sites that could be developed as ski areas. The Forest Service had previously entered into public/private partnerships with other concessionaires. The ski industry was no different. The partnership in those days was simple. The Forest Service permitted the use of the public lands and private interests provided the capital necessary to construct facilities. Although enterprising individuals, seeing the opportunity to make an enjoyable livelihood, had pushed for such a partnership, the role of dynamic and influential individuals in the Forest Service like F. C. Koziol appears to have been a significant contributor.¹⁰

On the Wasatch Forest, Koziol sought to work cooperatively with private interests who desired to develop areas for alpine skiing. To facilitate this effort, he looked for someone with unique expertise to advise his agency. A very clear choice for Koziol was world-renowned skier Alf Engen. Engen had already made his mark as a competitor in the world of ski-jumping, and later he became known as the “father of powder skiing technique.”¹¹ Koziol hired him to scout out potential public lands sites that

⁹ Montgomery M. Atwater, *The Avalanche Hunters* (Philadelphia: Macrae Smith Company, 1968), 6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Engen, *For the Love of Skiing*, vii.

could be developed for ski areas. In the 1940–41 edition of the *American Ski Annual*, Koziol reflected on the results of the decision to hire Engen.

Five years ago the Forest Service, recognizing the need for more knowledge, better planning, and expert opinion, employed well-known Alf Engen to help. Alf prospected, investigated, and studied proposed winter developments on scores of suggested places on the Intermountain National Forests. He recommended and planned several of the best, and so from a small beginning, a number of centralized winter sports areas are now being developed by the Forest Service in cooperation with towns, ski clubs, and private individuals.¹²

The first ski area to be developed in cooperation with the Forest Service was Alta. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Alta, Utah, had been a raucous mining town. In the 1930s, however, little more than a ghost town remained. The lower slopes of the surrounding mountains had been stripped of their timber for use in mining and construction of a town that had once claimed as many as 5,000 residents.¹³ In the mid-1930s, Alf Engen made Alta his first area of investigation. Impressed with what he saw, he recommended the area for ski development.

Encouragement also came from George Watson, self-appointed mayor of the abandoned mining town. Watson saw skiing as the key to the rebirth of the town. The land around Alta was laced with mining claims, most of which were in the possession of Mayor Watson. Anxious to cooperate and move the project forward, he deeded 700 acres of surface rights to the federal government on May 6, 1937. James E. Gurr, supervisor of the Wasatch National Forest at the time, acted on behalf of the government in the transaction. Not long afterward, the Forest Service also received an additional 900 acres from William O'Connor of the American Smelting and Refining company; O'Connor also happened to be a skier.¹⁴

With the transfer of land, progress toward Utah's first lift-served ski area was underway. The Forest Service, taking advantage of Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and Works Projects Administration (WPA) labor, built hard-surface roads into the Alta area, which would soon serve thousands of winter recreationists. Local businessmen, led by Joseph Quinney, formed the Alta Winter Sports Association to raise capital for lift construction and other improvements. Within two years of the transfer of deed, the Wasatch National Forest issued the association a permit to operate the Collins single-chair lift.¹⁵

In Logan, Utah, the Mt. Logan Ski Club and Logan City began to develop skiing at Beaver Mountain. Harold Seeholzer, a member of the ski club, purchased the rope tow from Logan City and, with the help of his family, developed Beaver Mountain Ski Area. Seeholzer had a great

¹² *American Ski Annual 1940–41*, 198.

¹³ Alexis Kelner, *Skiing in Utah: A History* (Salt Lake City: 1980), 114.

¹⁴ *A History of the Wasatch-Cache National Forest, 1903–1980* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture), 269.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*



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relationship with the forest supervisors and many of the men who served over the years as district rangers on the Cache National Forest. He remembered that they were particularly influential and helpful during the early years in getting roads constructed and in laying out and constructing ski runs.

Alf Engen standing on the snow plow when he was a foreman with the Civilian Conservation Corps.

In the early 1930s Wheeler Basin east of Mt. Ogden was under private ownership. The Ostler Land and Livestock Company used the area for summer cattle range. The basin became seriously denuded due to overgrazing, which in turn threatened the Ogden River watershed. During periods of heavy runoff, silt filled Wheeler Creek and the Ogden River, threatening the Ogden City water supply. In 1938 Ogden City sought a remedy to the problem via a lawsuit that, if successful, would condemn the area and put it under the jurisdiction of the federal government and the U.S. Forest Service. The suit succeeded, and the Forest Service immediately took steps to reclaim the area for watershed protection.¹⁶

That same year Wasatch Forest Supervisor Felix Koziol, Alf Engen, and other Forest Service officials skied into the Wheeler Basin area to assess its potential as a winter recreation site. The group came to a favorable consensus, and during the summer and fall of 1940 the Forest Service funded the

¹⁶ Engen, *For the Love of Skiing*, 104.

construction of a road into the area, built by the Civilian Conservation Corps under the direction of CCC supervisor Alf Engen. On-the-ground involvement of the Forest Service, however, was not limited to watershed management and road building. The following summer CCC workers, under the supervision of the Forest Service, cut ski runs for the new area, which was operated as a cooperative venture between the Forest Service and Ogden.¹⁷

Felix Koziol clearly believed that Snowbasin, which lay within the Wheeler Basin drainage, had the potential to become a major winter recreation destination. In the 1941–42 issue of the *Western Ski Annual*, he enthusiastically praised the positive attributes of the area.

Snowbasin offers one of the few places where two, three, and four-way tournaments can be held within the compact limits of the same ski area.... Snowbasin has a combination of many natural advantages that is hard to find. There is plenty of snow [and] the altitude is not too high to cause trouble from excessive storms.¹⁸

According to snow ranger and avalanche researcher Monty Atwater, Felix Koziol was somewhat unique in the Forest Service for his time. Referring to Koziol and his enthusiastic support of Forest Service skiing programs, Atwater said that “he was a skiing forester, a rare thing in those days”; evidently, even rarer still was the fact that he was a skiing supervisor!¹⁹

The Brighton area at the top of Big Cottonwood had been a popular summer recreational destination for decades. During the nineteen-teens and twenties, members of the Wasatch Mountain Club and others began to make weekend ski excursions into the Brighton basin. Embarking from Park City, the hardy winter recreationists would ski up Thaynes Canyon, over Scott’s Pass, and down into Brighton. They would typically stay overnight at Alfred Launer’s cabin, which he converted into a lodge for summer and winter recreationists. The skiers would enjoy a day of skiing, which at that time usually meant no more than a handful of short runs, and then return via the same route on Sunday.²⁰

The area soon gained a reputation for its winter recreational offerings. F. C. Koziol gladly promoted the ski possibilities in the Brighton area. In the late 1930s he began working with K Smith and a group of businessmen who had already begun operating a rope tow. Smith had skied into the Brighton area with friends in the Wasatch Mountain Club and loved the area.²¹ In 1937 the county began plowing the road up Big Cottonwood Canyon as far as the Brighton Store. That same year, the Alpine Ski Club built a rope tow. It was poorly designed and didn’t work well. However, Koziol was ebullient about the winter sports activities taking place in Brighton.

¹⁷ Interview with Dean Roberts, Solitude, Utah, October 25, 1989.

¹⁸ Engen, *For the Love of Skiing*, 104.

¹⁹ Atwater, *The Avalanche Hunters*, 3.

²⁰ Interview with Paul and Betty Dinwoodie, Salt Lake City, Utah, July 1989.

²¹ Smith interview. K Smith was born Jesse Kimball Smith but was known by no other name than “K” his entire life.

“The National Forests in a number of locations are fast becoming winter sports centers,” he wrote in a *Salt Lake Tribune* article titled “Forest Service Takes Lead in Regional Winter Sports.” “The most used and highly developed is Big Cottonwood Canyon in the Wasatch National Forest. The location is superb. Two and a half miles of ski trails have been provided to augment natural openings in the forest and connecting with other established trails.” He went on to say that “the area under development by the Forest Service in Big Cottonwood Canyon is an indicator of what is needed and what can be done.”²² Still, at the time, there were no reliable mechanical means of transporting skiers up the hill.

In 1938 Smith teamed up with Bill Eccles and others to build a 1,400-foot T-bar lift that worked very well. Additionally, he built an ice rink. The area did quite well for a couple of years. When World War II began, K Smith enlisted, and in 1943 he decided to sell his tow to Zane Doyle, a move that he later considered to be among the greatest mistakes of his life. Doyle, who worked in the meat-cutting business and desperately wanted out, had shown interest in the area for some time but considered the initial asking price to be out of the question. The price came down. With financial help from his family, Doyle was able to purchase the lift. He recalled that most people thought he was crazy to pay the kind of money he did for something that was on land that he didn’t own. But Doyle “hated the meat-cutting business and he wanted to see if he could make a go of it.”²³

According to Doyle, F.C. Koziol and District Ranger W. E. Tangren were fair and helpful. Even though there were disagreements, he had a good relationship with the Forest Service and was able to work out differences. According to Ray Linquist, snow ranger on the Wasatch from 1952 to 1986, Doyle and Koziol had a good personal relationship, and whenever the forest supervisor came to visit, Doyle made sure that he had some of his friend’s favorite beverage in the warming hut to facilitate discussion. Through hard work combined with assistance and cooperation from Felix Koziol and others in the Forest Service, Doyle developed Brighton into a ski area that became a local treasure.²⁴

In 1938 the Forest Service distributed a pamphlet that summarized the many winter recreation opportunities of the Intermountain region. The pamphlet provided the public information about dozens of recreational sites on the region’s twenty-four different forests, and it gave information on such things as the closest ranger station, ski runs, capacity of parking areas, the availability of a ski lift or ski instruction, the closest town, shelter or lodging, and the difficulty of the terrain. The introduction to the pamphlet announced that

Thousands of snow-covered hills and slopes in the Intermountain Region beckon the

²² *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 7, 1937.

²³ Interview with Zane Doyle, Salt Lake City, Utah, July 11, 1989.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

winter sports enthusiasts.... But where are the best ski and toboggan hills within the Intermountain Region? How can we get to these choice spots? Well, that is the purpose of this pamphlet—to answer these questions and add other information that you want to know. Let us help you plan your winter trip.²⁵

Although skiing was many years away from being considered an industry, the Forest Service seemed to take pride in the wide array of winter recreation resources on public forest lands.

In the 1940–41 *American Ski Annual*, published by the National Ski Association, Felix Koziol proudly reviewed the accomplishments of the newly formed Intermountain Division of the National Ski Association. Prior to that year, Utah, Idaho, and part of Wyoming had been included in the Colorado-based Rocky Mountain Division.

The winter of 1939–40 saw over a third of a million visitors to Intermountain winter play-fields on National Forests. Alta, of the Wasatch Forest near Salt Lake City, alone drew 92,000. It is a big job that the Forest Service has ahead of it to provide for winter sports lovers the essentials of shelter, sanitation, trails, and supervision. With the help of the CCC and the WPA, eight areas in Idaho, four in Nevada, three in western Wyoming, and ten in Utah now offer some facilities to visitors. Ski lifts and tows are rapidly being added, but entirely by private capital.²⁶

The following passage, almost poetic in tone, indicates Koziol's love for the sport of skiing and his commitment to the Forest Service's role in its success.

And so a new spirit has come to prevail on the Intermountain country when the days become short and the sun is low on the southern horizon.... For as November and December arrive, with them comes a new wealth to the land, a richness in snow, cold dry powder snow, covering deeply a thousand hills and therein the National Forests play a new part.²⁷

Apparently alpine skiing was to be a permanent part of the Forest Service winter sports agenda.

Because the Forest Service enthusiastically supported and promoted alpine skiing, by default it became obligated to protect recreationists from avalanche danger insofar as possible. Avalanches have existed since snow and mountains have existed, and the danger of avalanche has threatened humans whenever they have lived close to snow and mountains. In the villages of the European Alps those conditions have long been satisfied, and the results from time to time have been disastrous.²⁸ Those conditions were also present when the town of Alta was a rugged silver mining town in the late nineteenth century, and on several occasions the town and its residents experienced the destructive power that avalanches can inflict. When a variety of factors led to the end of mining in the Alta area, the avalanche

²⁵ *Winter Sports in the National Forests of the Intermountain Region*, USDA Forest Service pamphlet, 1938. Copy available at the Utah State Historical Society.

²⁶ *American Ski Annual*, 1940–41, 198.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 199.

²⁸ Atwater, *The Avalanche Hunters*, xiii.

threat to humans, who were no longer in proximity to the danger, was drastically reduced. However, the sudden growth and popularity of alpine skiing again placed people close to the danger.²⁹

Although during the 1970s and '80s ski areas and the state highway department gradually assumed the work of avalanche control, when the Forest Service first began to promote winter recreation there were no ski areas and no lifts. The responsibility for snow safety therefore fell to the Forest Service. During the summers, the Forest Service had assumed a primary role in protecting the public from such large-scale disasters as fire and floods on Forest Service lands. Therefore, the Forest Service, as administrator of the land, felt obligated to protect the skiing public from winter's hazard—avalanche.³⁰

Also, by the time the ski areas began to be formed, the Forest Service had developed expertise in snow safety and avalanche work that the fledgling ski areas simply did not have. Early in the 1930s District Ranger W.E. Tangren began observing avalanches and when they occurred. These observations began a database of information to which others would add during ensuing years. District rangers and snow rangers drew from this information and their personal experiences in order to make critical decisions regarding the safety of the public.³¹

Not long after Alta opened for business in 1939, the Forest Service hired Alf Engen's brother Sverre as its first snow ranger. Sverre assumed the task of learning as much as he could about avalanches and when they were likely to occur. He made observations concerning the weather, dug snow pits, and gathered as much information about avalanches and the conditions that created them as the era's instrumentation and knowledge would allow.³²

Shortly after World War II, Forest Supervisor Koziol hired Monty Atwater, a veteran of the Tenth Mountain Division, to replace Sverre Engen, who had been named the director of the Alta ski school. Atwater had learned of the position from Sverre, who was a friend of his. At the time, Koziol maintained that Europeans simply accepted a certain number of deaths each year from avalanche as inevitable. Atwater said that Koziol made it plain to him that Koziol, "as the Forest Service's custodian and sponsor of the first truly alpine ski area in the United States, was not prepared to accept any European-style casualty list" and that Atwater had been hired to prevent such a thing.³³

Monty Atwater had learned something about artillery and snow from his experiences as a Tenth Mountain trooper in Europe. As snow ranger he assigned priorities to his responsibilities: first, immediate recognition of

²⁹ Ibid., xv.

³⁰ Interview with John Hoagland, Salt Lake City, Utah, June 23, 1998.

³¹ Atwater, *The Avalanche Hunters*, 6.

³² Engen, *For the Love of Skiing*, 84.

³³ Atwater, *The Avalanche Hunters*, 6.



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hazard; second, reduction of hazard; third, basic research if he had any time left.³⁴ After only a few months, he received a full initiation into avalanche rescue. On the afternoon of December 27, shortly before Alta's lift was to shut down for the day, Monty received word of an avalanche accident. Three high school boys who had been camping in an old mine shack since Christmas Day had come down the mountain to the Snowpine shelter at the base of Alta for water. There had been a heavy, wind-driven snowstorm that day. The boys had been warned not to return to the cabin. However, they chose to ignore the warning and on the way back, one of the boys was buried in a slide. One stayed to search and the third went for help. Fortunately, rescuers found the buried teenager alive and successfully evacuated him to safety. The boy had been lucky.³⁵

Monty Atwater, Capt. Elkins (Utah National Guard), and Felix Koziol.

Following that experience, Atwater reflected on four factors that, despite the confusion, had contributed to the success of that rescue. One: the questioning of the survivors in order to gain information on the victim's location. Two: good leadership. As luck would have it, Alf and Sverre Engen, along with another experienced patrolman, Ted de Boer, were first on the scene and calmly headed up the rescue effort. All were experienced

³⁴ Montgomery Atwater, *Avalanche Handbook* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1952), 12.

³⁵ Atwater, *Avalanche Hunters*, 14.

in the ways of the mountains. Three: speed in making the search. Four: knowledge of the point where the victim was last seen. The rescuers found the boy somewhere on the fall line below that point.³⁶

Atwater also conducted research. He referred to his efforts as only the first stage of avalanche research, but his observations did result in information that proved useful. Especially at first, his research was pragmatic, attempting to provide “the administrator in the field with reliable methods of estimating avalanche hazard. There is no thought in this objective of predicting occurrence exactly, either in time or location.”³⁷ Atwater focused his efforts primarily on preventing accidents. Through his data gathering and personal experiences in directing what became the first avalanche research and observation center in the western hemisphere, he advanced the science of snow safety and added to the database of information, helping snow rangers protect the public from the potential devastation of avalanches. The “ten contributory factors”³⁸ he identified were probably his greatest contribution to avalanche forecasting. These factors were: (1) old snow depth, (2) old snow stability, (3) old snow surface, (4) new snow amount, (5) new snow type, (6) new snow density, (7) snowfall intensity, (8) wind speed and direction, (9) temperature, and (10) settlement.³⁹ In 1948 he published the first of “The Alta Avalanche Studies.” It was widely distributed as the only comprehensive work of its kind in the country. The studies conducted at Alta proved to be applicable wherever snow fell on mountains.

The most powerful tool that Atwater had at his disposal was the authority to close an area. Of course this authority, when exercised, was not always popular. Ski area operators wanted to make money, skiers wanted to ski, and both groups often resented the Forest Service because of what they sometimes viewed as arbitrary authority. But because the Forest Service had jurisdiction, it had assumed the awesome responsibility of protecting the public from avalanche danger, and the snow rangers took the responsibility seriously.⁴⁰

Monty Atwater worked hard and accomplished much, but he was primarily a writer and a ski mountaineer; by his own admission he was no true scientist. However, a scientist joined him in 1952 when Ed LaChappelle came on the team at the Alta Research Center. LaChappelle was a glaciologist and physicist by training and education. He soon proved to be a capable researcher and administrator. In *The Avalanche Hunters* Monty Atwater maintains that “the man that should have been there in the first place came to Alta in 1952–53. To describe Ed LaChappelle is to write

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Atwater, *Avalanche Handbook*, 46.

³⁸ Ibid., 47.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Atwater, *The Avalanche Hunters*, 6.



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the job specifications for an avalanche researcher: graduate physicist, glaciologist with a year's study at the (Swiss) Avalanche Institute, skilled craftsman in the shop, expert ski mountaineer.”⁴¹

Members of the Avalanche School at Alta.

According to Atwater, La Chapelle came at a particularly opportune time. The Alta ski area was expanding. There were more buildings, lifts, and people to protect. To take care of a burgeoning administrative load and maintain any kind of research program had become too much for one person. Because of his experience in Europe, LaChappelle was interested in snow cover. Atwater said he himself had neglected the subject for various reasons, “not the least of them being my allergy to scoop shovels”⁴²

Thanks to John Herbert, an influential Forest Service administrator in Washington, D.C. and a true friend of the avalanche research program, Atwater and LaChappelle got what they needed to create a shop of their own. LaChappelle, a highly skilled craftsman, was able to engineer and produce gadgets that he invented to collect data and facilitate research. The two set up a snow study plot on which they installed various data-gathering instruments and dug snow pits, a valuable technique for viewing the history of the snow cover and the condition of the base layer by layer.⁴³

In 1949 Koziol, Atwater, and district ranger Tangren taught the first

⁴¹ Ibid., 114.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid. Herbert was assistant director of Recreation and Lands for the Forest Service.

Avalanche School at Alta. The students were Forest Service employees, most likely snow rangers and district rangers from Forest Service offices around the West. The Avalanche School was initiated in order to share the knowledge gained at Alta, and before long, officials from other agencies began attending the classes for specialized training.⁴⁴ In the early years all of the major advances in avalanche research in the U.S. happened under the direction of the Forest Service along Utah's Wasatch Front. The Alta Avalanche School eventually became the National Avalanche School, located near Reno, Nevada.

Also in 1949 Atwater and company first used artillery for avalanche control work. Of course, the Forest Service owned no artillery. Enter the Utah National Guard: the members of the Guard were happy to oblige, and Captain Elkins of the Guard did the actual firing of a 75mm howitzer. The new method was much safer than the practice of skiing to the edges of unstable slopes and setting hand-charges. Higher up the military hierarchy, however, the mood was not so enthusiastic about the non-military use of the big guns. Atwater and the snow rangers considered these guns a godsend, and once again John Herbert in Washington became a key advocate and succeeded in helping establish an artillery program. Eventually, the weaponry found a permanent home at Alta, although to this day all ammunition comes from the military and is closely monitored and controlled by the Forest Service and the U.S. Army.⁴⁵

The avalanche research program continued to make great strides in snow science under the leadership of Monty Atwater and the genius of Ed LaChappelle. Atwater left the Alta center when he was offered a position in avalanche control and monitoring at the 1960 Winter Olympics in Squaw Valley, California. LaChappelle continued the research; in 1966 University of Utah graduate student Ron Perla joined him. Under the direction of the two skiing scholars the research program flourished and the Alta Avalanche Study Center produced copious publications.⁴⁶

Interestingly enough, all of the research activity coming out of the Alta Center began to attract more attention from the research branch of the Forest Service. The U.S. Forest Service is divided into three main sections: the National Forest System, Research, and State and Private Forestry. Administratively, the research taking place at Alta was part of the National Forest System. According to Ed LaChappelle, the research had been allowed at Alta under the auspices of "Administrative Studies."⁴⁷

By the late sixties, the administration decided to transfer avalanche research activities to the regional research branch office at Fort Collins and close down the Alta Avalanche Research Center. According to former snow

⁴⁴ Mark Kalitowski, "The Avalanche History of Alta," *Avalanche Review*, 7:3 (1988), 3.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, and interview with David Ream and Bruce Tremper, Salt Lake City, Utah, August 24, 2001.

⁴⁶ Kalitowski, "The Avalanche History of Alta," 8.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 8

ranger David Ream and Avalanche Forecast Center director Bruce Tremper, two Forest Service employees very much concerned with public safety and the state of knowledge concerning avalanches, the move, although understandable, was “a real shame.” The tragedy came from the fact that when the Alta Center closed in 1972, Ed LaChapelle left for an academic career at the University of Washington, and a great deal of knowledge on the subject either left with LaChapelle or was lost because of the mishandling and eventual disappearance of records. This event, however, in no way discounts the great deal of progress the Forest Service made during the Alta years toward the goal of protecting the public from the potential and real destructive forces of avalanches.⁴⁸

After the closing of the Alta Avalanche Study Center, many Forest Service snow rangers on the Wasatch and Cache national forests still carried out avalanche control work. However, as the ski industry grew and gained sophistication during the 1950s, '60s, and '70s, ski patrols became better trained, more professional, and better educated in the ways of snow science and avalanche control. Ski patrollers from the various ski areas operating on the national forests, worked essentially shoulder-to-shoulder with the snow rangers to control avalanches and protect the skiing public. In fact, in some cases ski area patrollers were former snow rangers or vice versa.⁴⁹

As ski areas in Utah and throughout the nation continued to grow, local snow rangers and district rangers took on increased administrative roles in the public-private partnership of providing recreation opportunities. The administration of ski area permits required more planning and oversight from Forest Service officials, and the job of the snow ranger was moving from on-the-ground “avalanche busting” to record-keeping and monitoring. Ski patrollers were learning about avalanche control from on-the-job training or from Forest Service-sponsored training. Eventually, it simply made sense to turn over avalanche control work to the ski patrols of the ski areas and in some cases to state highway departments as well.⁵⁰

Today, the U.S. Forest Service is still very much involved in providing winter recreation opportunities to the public. Its part of the public-private partnership still involves safety, providing expertise, and experience in snow science. Its role today, however, differs from its function when the ski industry was not yet an industry. The current role involves assisting ski areas in planning to mitigate impacts to vegetation, soils, and water and to ensure resource protection. It also involves ensuring that the public voice is heard.⁵¹

It would be hard to overstate the contributions of Forest Service programs and policies—as well as the collective contributions of dedicated

⁴⁸ Ream and Tremper interview.

⁴⁹ Interview with Ray Linquist, Dubois, Wyoming, September 21, 2001.

⁵⁰ Hoagland interview.

⁵¹ Interview with John Hoagland and Chip Sibbersen, Salt Lake City, Utah, October 2, 2001.

and skilled individuals—in the area of avalanche science. The sheer volume of works produced, papers published, training given, and practical experience gained indicates how much was done during the study years. Since their initial involvement, Forest Service officials have spent countless hours and tremendous effort in promoting skiing on our national forests and in protecting the skiers who enjoy the slopes.

Environmentalism and the Kaiparowits Power Project, 1964–76

By DAVID KENT SPROUL

On September 18, 1996, President Bill Clinton stood outside the El Tovar Lodge on the rim of the Grand Canyon and made a little speech. He announced his intention to proclaim more than 1.7 million acres of south-central Utah as the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument. In the center of the new monument was the Kaiparowits Plateau, a 5,000 square-mile collection of mountains, mesas, and sandstone canyons. In addition to the aesthetic qualities of the Grand Staircase region, the Kaiparowits Plateau was important from an energy perspective. Central to President Clinton's proclamation was the fact that the plateau contained one of the world's largest deposits of low-sulphur coal, estimated that year at thirty billion tons.¹ During the six years prior to President Clinton's proclamation, Dutch energy company Andalex Resources made plans for a 10,000-acre strip mine on the plateau near the town of Kanab, Utah. Andalex intended to mine Kaiparowits coal and ship it to energy-hungry nations such as Japan. While the monument proclamation did not specifically exclude mining operations inside the monument, it did make them nearly impossible to pursue. For environmental activists, the president's proclamation temporarily ended the long battle over the coal fields of the Kaiparowits Plateau; however, the environmental groups of the 1990s only fought one of the last battles of a longer war. The historical controversy over coal extraction on the plateau began quietly in 1964 with a proposal from Southern California Edison known as the Kaiparowits Power Project.

Many historians believe that the most important environmental drama to grace the Utah stage was the battle over Echo Park Dam, one of the proposed units in the Colorado River Storage Project (CRSP). Historian Mark Harvey argued that the Echo Park fight was the event that galvanized the contemporary environmental movement.² On a national level this was probably true; however, in Utah the trend toward resource development at the expense of the environment continued for another decade beyond the

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¹ R.D. Hettinger, L.N.R. Roberts, L.R.H. Biewick, and M.A. Kirschbaum, *Preliminary Investigations of the Distribution and Resources of Coal in the Kaiparowits Plateau*. U.S. Geological Survey Open-File Report 96-539 (Denver, 1996), 1, 26-30. This study determined that actual coal deposits exceeded 60 billion tons; however, the authors noted that approximately 32 billion tons could not be mined due to excessive depth and technological limitations.

² Mark W.T. Harvey, *A Symbol of Wilderness: Echo Park and the American Conservation Movement* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 287-90.

CRSP. The historical record also bears this out. Realizing too late what they had traded away, environmentalists such as David Brower lobbied tirelessly but without success to block construction of the Glen Canyon unit of the CRSP. That unit inundated hundreds of miles of pristine canyons. Environmental activists were unable to employ the courts successfully to prevent Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall from ordering closure of the final diversion gates at Glen Canyon, which occurred in January 1963. If Echo Park galvanized the national environmental movement, when did that force manifest itself in Utah? When did it become so difficult to extract resources from the remote areas of the Southwest? Utahns had always favored use over preservation, but it was not until the mood of the nation at large reflected preservation that Utah's penchant for development ran into serious opposition. While the controversy over the Colorado River Storage Project revealed the patina of a national sentiment that opposed development, the legislative mood of the national government was not yet there. By successfully completing Glen Canyon Dam, the federal government bowed in small measure to pressure from environmentalists over the CRSP.

The real watershed event that signaled Utah's forced transition to preservation was the battle over the Kaiparowits Power Project (KPP). Though not as grandiose in scale as Echo Park and the CRSP, the Kaiparowits Project represented more potential prosperity to Utahns and the West as a whole. It also marked one of the last great efforts of Southern California utilities to extract resources in their periphery and profit by them. It was the combination of national mood favoring protection of the environment, the requisite legislation that reflected that mood, and the work of environmental groups capitalizing on both that finally derailed the largest electric power-generating scheme ever conceived in the continental United States.

The battle over the CRSP, when juxtaposed with the subsequent fight over the Kaiparowits Project, proved that environmental movements could achieve only small measures of success in the socio-political climate of the 1950s and early 1960s. It took national sentiment and legislation focused on environmental protection to produce genuine changes in a West dominated by pro-development leaders and electorates. The KPP's importance is in its role at the center of the transformative process in Utah's environmental evolution. It is important to remember that unlike the CRSP and Echo Park, which involved the efforts of only a few environmentalist groups, the opponents of the KPP benefitted from the full blossom of the environmental movement. Dozens of groups involved themselves in the KPP battle. Had those conservation groups not been involved, the KPP would have surely been built.

The Kaiparowits Plateau lies 300 miles south of Salt Lake City in Utah's south-central desert. It embodies a level of natural diversity found in very few parts of the world. The topography of the plateau covers approximately 5,000 square miles and varies thousands of feet in elevation. There was and

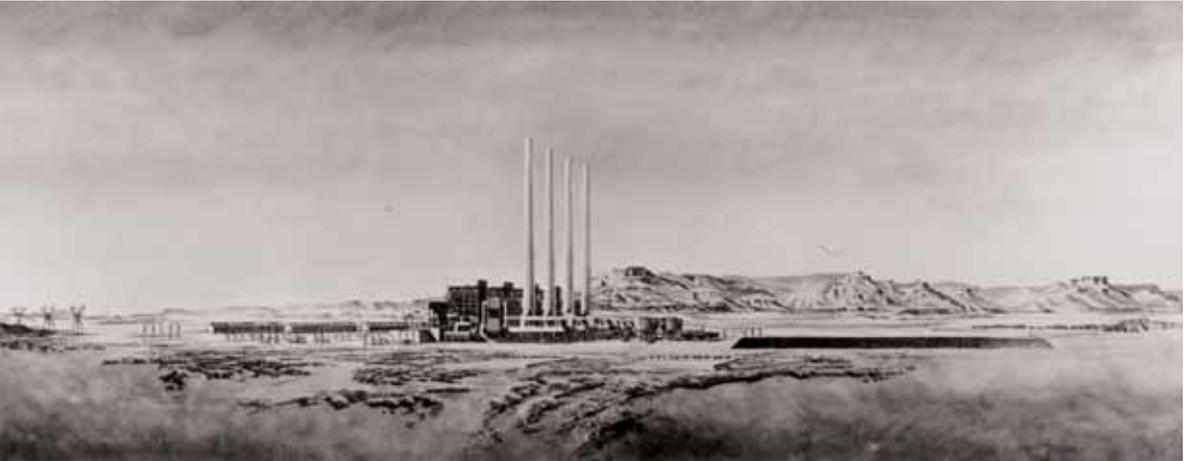
still is very little development on the plateau, evidenced by the scanty population and small number of towns. This part of southern Utah is considered a geologic masterpiece with three-hundred-mile vistas and red taffy canyons most people only get to see on postcards. The plateau is bordered on the west by Bryce Canyon and to the east by the Waterpocket Fold and Capitol Reef National Park. To the south the plateau is guarded by Glen Canyon and the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area and to the north by the town of Escalante and Utah's scenic Highway 12. The majority of the plateau lies inside Kane County.

Between 1964 and 1976, a small war raged over the fate of the Kaiparowits Plateau. The conflict focused on a Southern California Edison proposal to extract enormous quantities of coal from environmentally sensitive areas on the plateau and burn it in a coal-fired power plant located near the mine. Edison wanted to export the power to southern California and central Arizona. Known as the Kaiparowits Power Project (KPP), the plan depended on the construction of a coal-fired power plant less than fifty miles north of Lake Powell. Designed to produce 3,500 megawatts of electricity, the plant would need to burn approximately 25,000 to 30,000 tons of coal per day. Edison planned to take the coal from deep-shaft mines. The project's golden ring was the net product: tremendous quantities of inexpensive electricity sent to southern California and central Arizona via 2,000 miles of above-ground, high-wire cable.³

The 1960s were a time of change even in the remote American southwest. Understanding the problems encountered by California and Arizona utilities in their attempt to extract and process southern Utah coal depends in large part on understanding how national changes in attitudes toward the environment played out on the Kaiparowits Plateau. In the years following the first water permit applications for the project in 1964, public utility companies grossly underestimated both the real power of the national environmental movement and the legislative trend toward evaluating resource development with regard to potential environmental harm. This lack of foresight may have been the death knell of the KPP, but it was not surprising. Southern California never really encountered difficulty acquiring the resources it needed prior to the 1960s. Its capacity for resource hegemony remained untested.

Before the 1960s, western metropolitan centers used remote areas like the Kaiparowits Plateau as resource supermarkets. After 1945 the American West experienced tremendous growth, which radically intensified metropolitan energy needs. Extractive industries based on uranium, timber, and natural gas became conduits to prosperity in the post-war West, a fact Art

³ William R. Gould Collection, MS 619, Box 6, Folder 11, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management (BLM), *Final Environmental Impact Statement (EIS), Proposed Kaiparowits Project* (1976), Chapter I, p. 5.



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Gomez demonstrated admirably in his study of the Four Corners region.⁴ Metropolitan centers in the West, such as San Francisco and Los Angeles, were very accustomed to taking what they needed from the economic hinterlands. For a time, it seemed to be beneficial to both sides of the equation: as the West's large cities grew, their resource-laden periphery grew as well.

Artist's conception of Kaiparowits Generation Station with 700' high stacks, June 1973.

It was in this climate of post-war growth and resource acquisition that a group of public utilities conceived the Kaiparowits Power Project. Southern Utah's coal reserves were thought to be immense. By the early 1960s, improved technology estimated coal deposits in the region at 20 to 40 billion tons.⁵ Burdened by enormous population growth, southern California utility companies knew the solution to providing sufficient power to their expanding customer base lay outside California. Impressed by favorable coal estimates, Arizona Public Service Company, San Diego Gas & Electric Company, and Southern California Edison formed a partnership to explore the energy potential in southern Utah. They surveyed parts of the Kaiparowits Plateau for coal extraction in early 1964. On November 6, 1964, the conglomerate presented a plan to the Utah Water and Power Board for construction of the Kaiparowits Power Project.⁶ In their presentation to Utah officials, utilities representatives focused almost exclusively on the economic benefits to Utah and the nation.

The KPP was an immense undertaking from the beginning. Edison set

⁴ Arthur R. Gómez, *Quest for the Golden Circle: The Four Corners and the Metropolitan West, 1945-1970* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 14-15, 46-48.

⁵ Orson L. Anderson to Paul Howard, State Director, Bureau of Land Management, August 15, 1975, Box 14, Folder 1792.630; Kaiparowits Environmental Impact Study, 1964-1976 (KEIS, 1964-1976); Environmental Impact Statements, 1964-1981 (EIS, 1964-1981); General Records of the Bureau of Land Management, Record Group 49 (RG 49), National Archives-Rocky Mountain Region, Denver, Colorado, (NA-RM).

⁶ *Deseret News*, November 7, 1964.

the initial price tag at \$500 million. Edison claimed the investment would result in an annual revenue injection to Utah of at least \$20 million. These were impressive figures, especially for rural southern Utah in the 1960s. Edison officials, feeling they may not have persuaded Utah sufficiently to accept their plan, hinted that if the development plan fell through they would be forced to consider nuclear power alternatives. But there was little chance of Utahns balking at the enormous financial opportunity placed at their doorstep. While most Utah state legislators and land management officials lauded the plan immediately, some were not so easily swayed. One member of the Utah Water and Power Board said "the operation of this plant would amount to exporting Utah water and coal to the West Coast by wire."⁷ This criticism became the framework for much of the campaign that sought to derail the project.

Initial construction goals for the Kaiparowits Project involved three deep-shaft coal mines, capable of delivering 15,000 tons of coal per day. Two 750,000-kilowatt generators would be constructed, using at least 102,000 acre-feet of water from the Colorado River.⁸ All of these figures were revised upward as more accurate estimates of coal deposits became available. Bureau of Reclamation officials were skeptical of the low estimates for water consumption. Given the inherent demand for water throughout the Four Corners region, Reclamation officials claimed that the Colorado River would not be able to support the planned project. They warned the utility companies that other sources, including Lake Powell, would have to be considered. Even Utah Senator Frank Moss, one of the project's earliest and most vocal supporters, expressed concern in 1965 over the possible effects on the Lake Powell watershed.

Moss was most likely hedging his political bets, as he also supported legislation for Lake Powell and the proposed Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. He remained exceptionally confident in the project and its potential. On September 9, 1965, Moss issued a press release that declared "in five years, the first power should be transmitted to major markets in Arizona and Southern California."⁹ Objections over water consumption were drowned out under the praise of economic opportunity. Kane County officials estimated the tax revenue alone at \$10 million over the life of the project. Through the first two years of planning the KPP, there was little or no mention of any possible environmental impacts.

The KPP moved at moderate pace for a time. In July 1966 the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) made all the necessary coal lease options available to Southern California Edison and its partners. One month later,

⁷ *Ibid.*, *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 7, 1964.

⁸ Gould Papers, MS 619, Box 6, Folder 11, Special Collections, Marriott Library; *Deseret News*, November 7, 1964.

⁹ Press Release, February 11, 1965, Press Release, March 24, 1965, Press Release, September 9, 1965, Frank Moss Papers, MS 146, Box 189, Folders 3, 7, 24, Special Collections, Marriott Library.

Arizona Public Service Company began reviewing plans for construction of the power plant. Edison became the official project manager for the KPP. Most of 1967 was spent reviewing final topographic analyses and generating final maps that located each of the many facilities. At this point the project ran into various permitting problems, in large part due to vacillating plans and consumption demands from Edison. Managers were unconcerned, having anticipated that a project of this magnitude would not be realized overnight. But the delays grew longer, especially concerning the project's increasing need for water, an ever-sensitive



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subject in the Upper Colorado River Basin states. Eventually, Utah Governor Calvin L. Rampton stepped in to facilitate the project's completion. He arranged several meetings with federal officials regarding the KPP and what he considered its failing status. By September 1968, under direct pressure from utilities officials and Governor Rampton, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall endorsed the KPP. At an unhurried pace, the KPP rolled toward completion. Between 1969 and 1973, the original plan expanded measurably, adding a fourth deep-shaft coal mine. Estimates of coal consumption rose to 23,000 tons per day. The generating facilities condensed to a single unit capable of producing 3,500 megawatts of electricity each year—the largest coal-fired power generating station in North America. The total number of permanent jobs created by the KPP would exceed 2,000 in Kane County alone. The total investment for project completion soared to \$3.5 billion.¹⁰

While project managers were busy planning an even bigger power plant, new environmental legislation emerged that gave opposition groups

¹⁰ *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 19, 1964, July 15, 1966, August 12, 1966, August 19, 1966, August 17, 1967, July 19, 1968, September 17, 1968.

important tools for fighting the KPP. In the public debate that emerged, it was the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) and its requirement of an environmental impact statement that helped opponents the most.¹¹ The NEPA required an environmental impact statement for any project developed on federal land or funded by a federal agency. Dams and power plants were evaluated for more than their economic potential. The NEPA made every potential environmental impact a requisite consideration. Environmental groups opposed to projects like the KPP seized on the NEPA as an important tool in their cause.

To stave off the inevitable lawsuits inspired by the NEPA, Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton ordered a Southwest Energy Study, which commenced on May 27, 1971. Morton claimed that the large number of rights-of-way demanded by utility companies (for completion of the above ground transmission system) required a more intensive analysis of the project's effects on the multiple ecosystems it might impact. The study proposal did not have the effect Morton intended. On June 2, 1971, a year and half after President Richard Nixon signed the NEPA into law, the Environmental Defense Fund and the National Wildlife Federation sued Secretary Morton. The suit sought an injunction against the Department of the Interior and the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) from providing any more rights-of-way to utility companies in pursuit of the KPP. Of the many claims for relief, the suit demanded completion of an environmental impact statement to assess the project. As a result of this legal attention, the BLM was compelled to begin environmental consideration of Edison's power scheme under the terms of the NEPA.¹²

Impact statements were also part of the public record, providing a new vector for non-governmental input into the decision-making process. Agencies that produced impact statements solicited responses to the EIS from private and public groups, many of whom had gone unheard during previous federal project planning. This was critical in the campaign against the KPP, as the unhurried attitude of Edison project managers before 1970 was ultimately the project's undoing. The irony in this case was that Utah development officials approved the original Edison proposal in 1964 on the condition that construction begin before January 1, 1970. Had Edison lived up to the scheduling agreement, rather than counting on the unwavering support of Utah's conservative and pro-energy leadership, the Kaiparowits project would have been grandfathered in and not required to undergo an environmental impact analysis.

The campaign against the Kaiparowits Power Project echoed the spirit of

¹¹ Hal K. Rothman, *The Greening of a Nation?: Environmentalism in the United States since 1945* (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1998), 115-16.

¹² Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton to Governor Calvin L. Rampton, June 13, 1973, Moss Papers, Ms 146, Box 615, Folder 8; Copy of Claim for Relief, Box 618, Folder 6, Special Collections, Marriott Library.

the times. The 1973 Endangered Species Act, which Senator Moss helped draft in its final form, and its concordant philosophy of placing sensitive habitats ahead of economic gain in the development process, also provided an important theme in the general response to the KPP. Other environmentalist ideas, codified in law in various Clean Air or Clean Water acts, found their way into the battle over the KPP. Public debate and media coverage emerged over visual and atmospheric pollution, the potential for water toxicity and waste, the need for energy conservation, and opposition to resource colonialism. These were all part of the struggle against the KPP. For their part, backers of the KPP invoked classic themes like positive growth, economic prosperity, and the fear of rising dependence on foreign oil. With very few exceptions, the rhetorical debate over the KPP found industrial and ancillary governmental groups on the side of the power project and public interest groups on the side of preservation. Using the frequency of local and regional news stories about environmental damage on the Kaiparowits Plateau as a barometer of public awareness and concern, one can see the public discourse over the KPP and the opposition to it rising measurably after 1968, with stories appearing in Utah weekly at first and eventually daily. As the tide of environmental legislation swept across the nation, negative opinion of the KPP increased decidedly. And as project parameters expanded, so, too, did the base of opposition. Groups from inside Utah and around the West started questioning the possible environmental impact from the project. As more information was made available to the public, more groups took issue with the KPP.

The major level of opposition came between 1974 and 1976, when the Bureau of Land Management was working on the first draft of the environmental impact statement for the KPP. This document revealed the complete scope of the project and its overall impact on the environment. The EIS indicated a strong reliance on the opinions of non-governmental sources in the final assessment of the project. Dozens of groups representing hundreds of thousands of members weighed in on development of the Kaiparowits Plateau. Chapter 9 of the impact statement for the KPP, which contained only the responses written specifically to the environmental assessment, totaled 816 pages. A total of sixty-six non-governmental (NGO) organizations provided input to the EIS. Of those, fifty-seven could be considered environmentalist groups. The complete impact statement came in at more than 3,000 pages. These groups offered opinions and data that project managers never anticipated and may not have had access to prior to the NEPA. While the public comment provided important information to BLM analysts, it also presented a degree of opposition that added to the length of the process. The subsequent delays were very costly to Edison and its partners.

In response to growing criticism and public scrutiny, project supporters nationalized the project rationale. The summary section of the EIS listed two reasons for construction of the KPP. The first was the obvious and

increasing demand for power in southern California. The growth rate was pegged at 6.8 percent per year, too high a rate for Southern California Edison to meet without external help.¹³ Critics were quick to point out that this argument was based on a classic boondoggle. California's legislature had passed various smog control measures that effectively banned new coal-fired energy sources inside the state's boundaries. Consequently, Edison could not burn Utah coal close to home. Banning coal-fired power in its own backyard became the unspoken justification for burning coal at the mouth of the mine in Utah. The repugnance of this logic was not lost on activists like Dennis Davis, chairman of the Bridgerland Audubon Society in Logan, Utah. Davis was willing to acknowledge the tax and income benefits generated by the Kaiparowits Project; however, the glaring inequity of all the environmental costs being borne in Utah could not be overlooked.¹⁴

Environmentalists, such as Dorothy Gumaer of the Southeastern Colorado Wilderness Alliance, found this to be a spurious proposition given that 94 percent of the power generated by the project was destined for California and Arizona but 100 percent of the environmental burden was to be borne in Utah. Virilis L. Fischer of Outdoors Unlimited lobbied Paul Howard, then Utah state director for the Bureau of Land Management, to reconsider the extra-regional scheme implicit in the Kaiparowits Project. Fischer went so far as to suggest that if California and Arizona were the primary beneficiaries of the project, they should use their allocation of Colorado River water to run the operation.¹⁵ Playing the role of regional resource magnate was not new for southern California. But utilities officials had more difficulty defending their role with regard to the Kaiparowits Project. The "green revolution" was in full swing across America and legislation was in place specifically designed to prevent this kind of resource exportation. Southern California Edison was ill prepared for this criticism.

Edison's inadequate response to popular attacks went a long way toward explaining the second rationale for building the KPP. The EIS observed "because of the increasing cost of oil, the scarcity of natural gas, and the decreasing reliance on oil imports, it is necessary to shift as much as practical to the use of more available domestic fuels, such as coal."¹⁶ This overt homage to the idea of energy self-sufficiency, born of the 1972 OPEC embargo, clearly demonstrated that Americans were still afraid of returning to a state of energy dependence.¹⁷ Groups like the Utah Manufacturers

¹³ BLM, *Final EIS*, Chapter I, pp. 3-4.

¹⁴ Marga Raskin, "Smog Alert for Our Southwestern National Parks" *The National Parks and Conservation Magazine: The Environmental Journal* (July 1975), 10-11. Dennis R. Davis to Paul Howard, September 28, 1975; KEIS, 1964-1976; EIS, 1964-1981; RG 49, NA-RM.

¹⁵ Dorothy Gumaer to Paul Howard, September 11, 1975; Virilis L. Fischer to Paul Howard, September 15, 1975; KEIS, 1964-1976; EIS, 1964-1981; RG 49, NA-RM.

¹⁶ BLM, *Final EIS*, Chapter I, p. 4.

¹⁷ *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 30, 1973, May 8, 1975, December 13, 1975.

Association and the Utah Mining Association coalesced around this theme in their support of the KPP. These groups also made heavy use of economic data that suggested enormous revenue gains to residents of Kane County.¹⁸ But the raw data on the project's consumptive nature undermined the nationalist rationale of decreasing dependence on foreign oil. To maintain efficient and consistent firing levels in the generating furnaces, the plant would have to consume nearly 11 million barrels of oil during its projected thirty-five year life. This oil consumption was in addition to the revised estimate for coal consumption, which the impact statement reported as nine million tons each year for thirty-five years.

In the end, it was the hard data on environmental damage that energized the most vocal opponents. To cool the generating process at minimum production levels, the KPP would have to consume at least 50,000 acre-feet of water per year from Lake Powell. It was more likely that the project would consume more than 100,000 acre-feet annually. These consumption needs ran hard against certain hydrologic realities. Lake Powell simply could not provide the total water necessary over the life of the project and still meet the obligations imposed on it under terms of the Colorado River Storage Project. Orson L. Anderson, coordinator of the Lake Powell Research Project, argued that the Lake Powell watershed would fail to provide sufficient water to the KPP after only twenty-three years. In addition, there was no real guarantee that the deep-shaft mines alone could produce coal at a sufficient rate. This meant that there was no surety against resorting to open-pit strip mining to acquire the necessary coal.¹⁹

One of the more glaring defects in the project's planning and evaluation process was the way many proponents had pushed forward as though the KPP would operate in a vacuum. Unfortunately for project advocates, various groups and individuals began to review the project in terms of its contribution to the overall effect on the Kaiparowits region. By the time the Kaiparowits Project was under federal review, four other large-scale coal-fired power projects were either on the table or operational in southern Utah: the Navajo Generating Station at Page, Arizona; the Four Corners Generating Station at Fruitland, New Mexico; the San Juan Power Plant, also at Fruitland; and the Huntington Plant in Huntington, Utah. All of these facilities were on-line prior to 1975 and before BLM officials had even completed their review of the KPP. As they prepared the EIS, utility officials, BLM personnel, and environmentalists realized that the KPP was planned with little consideration of the cumulative impact of coal-fired

¹⁸ Robert Halladay, Executive Vice President, Utah Manufacturers Association to Paul Howard; Paul S. Rattle, Manager, Utah Mining Association to Paul Howard, September 18, 1975; KEIS, 1964-1976; EIS, 1964-1981; RG 49, NA-RM.

¹⁹ Orson L. Anderson to Paul Howard, August 15, 1975; KEIS, 1964-1976; EIS, 1964-1981; RG 49, NA-RM. Orson L. Anderson to Senator Frank Moss, May 2, 1975, Moss Papers, MS 146, Box 618, Folder 2, Special Collections, Marriott Library.

power on the plateau.²⁰

The potential waste generated by this project was immense. The EIS detailed some critical statistics. If the air pollution control equipment could be operated at design levels the plant would emit 52 tons of sulphur dioxide, 14 tons of particulate, and 250 tons of nitrogen oxides per day. The solid waste produced amounted to 120 million cubic yards to be disposed of on a 1,500-acre waste site also located in southern Utah.²¹ The EIS received protests from thirty-two Utah environmental groups and seven national groups decrying the air pollution that would be created by the KPP.

These groups also contested the designation of the area as a Class II air quality location. A Class II designation meant that “no significant deterioration” in air quality could be tolerated in accordance with the 1970 Clean Air Act. A Class I area was an area where no reduction in air quality was tolerated.²² The concern was that the proposed site for the KPP was less than one hundred miles from eight sites which were then being evaluated for Class I designation: Bryce Canyon National Park, Canyonlands National Park, Capitol Reef National Park, Cedar Breaks National Monument, Zion National Park, Grand Canyon National Park, Pipe Springs National Monument, and Navajo National Monument. National Park Service director Gary Everhardt also expressed his concerns directly to the BLM that environmentally unique areas close to the project would eventually obtain Class I status, such as Escalante Canyon and the Paria River Primitive Area.²³ In 1970 William R. Gould, vice-president for Southern California Edison and the lead supervisor on the Kaiparowits project, presented a paper at the Annual Engineering Symposium at Brigham Young University that contained a frightening degree of prescience. He wrote:

It is also well to bear in mind that while we have given high priority in our planning to preservation of the environment, should unrealistic and unnecessary air quality standards be set, this factor alone could add costs to the project, which would destroy its economic advantages. Similarly, unwarranted opposition by well-meaning, but uninformed and unrealistic environmentalists could also provide an impenetrable barrier to the successful completion of this project.²⁴

There was steady opposition to the overt resource colonialism this project epitomized, where primarily southern California consumers reaped the benefits from development and the environmental costs were borne by Utah and its ecosystem. The Mineralogical Society of Utah, generally

²⁰ Robert L. Coshland to Paul Howard, September 22, 1975; KEIS, 1964-1976; EIS, 1964-1981; RG 49, NA-RM; Issue Briefs, Moss Papers, MS 146, Box 619, Folder 1, Special Collections, Marriott Library.

²¹ BLM, *Final EIS*, Chapter I, pp. iii, 4-20.

²² Raskin, 15; John C. Freemuth, *Islands Under Siege: National Parks and the Politics of External Threats* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991), 20-22.

²³ Gary Everhardt to State Director, BLM, September 30, 1975; KEIS, 1964-1976; EIS, 1964-1981; RG 49, NA-RM.

²⁴ Gould Papers, MS 619, Box 40, Folder 8, Special Collections, Marriott Library.

committed to multiple-use of natural resources, lobbied BLM director Paul Howard to consider the ethics of burning coal in one state and sending the rewards to another. Hundreds of letters to the BLM echoed this anti-colonial sentiment during the EIS evaluation process. Regional newspapers even went so far as to speculate that the KPP, if completed, would set the precedent for ever more aggressive resource exportation. The *Arizona Republic* suggested that nuclear power facilities might even be constructed in Arizona or Utah to ship power to California.²⁵ William Gould was committed to countering these regionalist trepidations with regionalist rhetoric. At the Kaiparowits Energy Symposium in June 1975, Gould said:

The facts are that the largest part of Utah's rightful allocation of Colorado River water is now running free of charge down the Colorado to California simply because there are not enough ready-to-go, approved projects for using this water in Utah. The state cannot and must not let its water flow unused forever down the river just to protect water quality downstream.²⁶

In 1973, the KPP experienced a major setback. The Southwest Energy Study, begun by the Department of the Interior in 1971, was completed in December 1972. Six months later, Utah Governor Calvin Rampton received a letter from Secretary of the Interior Rogers C.B. Morton. Based on the information assembled by the study team, Secretary Morton "determined that it would be unwise to grant [further] permits for development of a coal-fired power plant on the Kaiparowits Plateau." Morton cited



WILLIAM GOULD COLLECTION, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, MARRIOTT LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

William R. Gould, chief executive of Southern California Edison Power Company and lead supervisor for the Kaiparowits Power Project.

²⁵ Mineralogical Society of Utah to Paul Howard, September 29, 1975; KEIS, 1964-1976; EIS, 1964-1981; RG 49, NA-RM; *Arizona Republic*, October 1, 1975.

²⁶ William R. Gould, "Rape or Riches for Utah," Opening Remarks, Kaiparowits Energy Symposium, June 20, 1975, Gould Papers, MS 619, Box 42, Folder 11, Special Collections, Marriott Library.

many of the standard reasons, such as concerns over water consumption. But the major reason for withdrawing his support dealt with the proposed Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. Glen Canyon NRA was scheduled for final authorization that year, due in large part to legislation written and sponsored by Senator Frank Moss. Morton told Governor Rampton that the scenic beauty of Glen Canyon could not be threatened by the inevitable atmospheric degradation caused by the KPP. Another power plant on the Kaiparowits Plateau, according to Morton, would only exacerbate the problems created by extant generating stations, such as the Navajo Plant in Page, Arizona. Morton summarily rejected all pending applications for rights-of-way related to the Kaiparowits Project.²⁷

By 1976 the frustration level among Utah's legislators was beginning to show. Faced with increasing delays, growing costs, and the unrelenting attacks of major environmentalist groups, Utah power brokers were furious about the unrealized economic potential of the Kaiparowits Plateau. Even activists such as actor Robert Redford had begun vocalizing public opposition to the project at well-covered and orchestrated media events. At a chamber of commerce meeting in Orem, Republican Senator Jake Garn told the audience that Robert Redford, Friends of the Earth, and the Environmental Defense Fund had no right to interfere with Utah's development projects. In a throwback to the late nineteenth century, Garn commented "I don't think it's anybody's damn business what we do in the state of Utah." In the spring of 1976, residents of Kanab, Utah, (the town closest to the proposed project) burned Redford in effigy on Kanab's Main Street.²⁸

Opponents to the KPP also began highlighting legal concerns over how the project might fail to comply with provisions of other legislation. Various governmental organizations also noted these potential problems. The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation in Washington, D.C., and the Utah Department of Development Services criticized utility company plans for failing to provide procedures to minimize impacts to archaeological sites. Section 106 of the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act required this type of preventive planning.²⁹ The EIS even provided environmentalists with fuel for debate over species and habitat destruction. The impact statement indicated that at least twelve endangered species of fish and wildlife would be adversely affected.³⁰ Other species "as yet unidentified" could also be affected severely. Academics, such as University of Utah

²⁷ Rogers C. B. Morton to Governor Calvin L. Rampton, June 13, 1973, Moss Papers, Ms 146, Box 615, Folder 8, Special Collections, Marriott Library.

²⁸ *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 19, 1976, copy in Gould Papers, MS 619, Box 42, Folder 11, Special Collections, Marriott Library.

²⁹ Gary Everhardt to Paul Howard, State Director; David B. Madsen, Utah Department of Development Services, to Paul Howard, August 4, 1975; Louis S. Wall, Assistant Director, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, to Paul Howard, September 12, 1975; KEIS, 1964-1976; EIS, 1964-1981; RG 49, NA-RM.

³⁰ BLM, Final EIS, Chapter III, pp. 13-18.

professor Delbert Wiens, conservative sportsmen like Utah Outdoor Federation president Dave Wallace, and representatives from eighteen different NGOs, including Friends of the Earth and the Environmental Defense Fund, submitted written responses to the impact statement detailing the effect of the generating plant and the transmission lines on species and habitats.³¹ Despite the number and variety of responses to BLM analysis efforts, there was still a large segment of the Utah population that was in favor of developing Kaiparowits coal despite the potential effects on Utah's ecosystem.

In May 1975 Senator Frank Moss conducted a survey of Utahns on various political and social issues. The survey's lead item asked Utahns whether or not the Kaiparowits Project should proceed. The survey generated an impressive 85,374 responses. According to Moss, 82.1 percent of respondents supported construction of the KPP.³² This juxtaposed starkly with the public comments received at the Utah BLM office between November 1974 and December 1975. By January 1976, two months before publication of the EIS final draft, the BLM's Utah office had received 5,793 letters regarding the KPP. Of these, the BLM reported that 4,933 opposed the project, 837 supported development, and 23 offered no position.³³

The public response suggested that the KPP was not a one-sided issue. National trends in legislation and environmental thinking were clearly evident in the debate over the KPP. Media polls taken between 1969 and 1976 suggested that a strong degree of opposition had not only been present in Utah all along but that it had grown stronger as the KPP became mired more deeply in federal scrutiny. Local newspapers increasingly reported vocal concerns over air pollution, water consumption, total cost, and actual need. Not surprisingly, newspaper polls indicated immense support among Kane County residents and Utah state officials as late as 1976, when regional and extra-regional opposition was at its peak. Unfortunately for Kane County and Edison boosters, the local support was too little, too late.³⁴

On December 30, 1975, officials from Southern California Edison announced a self-imposed one-year moratorium on the KPP. They claimed additional evaluation was necessary in light of protracted approval delays and environmental concerns. On the morning of April 14, 1976, William R. Gould sent a telegram to each of Utah's congressional delegation, the

³¹ Greg McKennis, Arizona Audubon Society, to Mike Johnson, BLM, September 22, 1975; Douglas C. Baker, President, Arizona Wildlife Federation, to Paul Howard, September 29, 1975; Dave Wallace, President, Utah Wildlife and Outdoor Recreation Federation, to Paul Howard, November 6, 1975; Dr. Delbert Wiens to Paul Howard, November 6, 1975; Gordon Anderson, Friends of the Earth, to Paul Howard, November 13, 1975; KEIS, 1964-1976; EIS, 1964-1981; RG 49, NA-RM.

³² Moss Papers, MS 146, Box 565, Folder 9, Special Collections, Marriott Library.

³³ BLM, *Final EIS*, Chapter IX, p. 22.

³⁴ *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 5, 1969, April 17, 1970, April 22, 1971, June 30, 1971, August 29, 1971, February 24, 1976, July 31, 1976; *Deseret News*, April 14, 1976.

secretary of the interior, the White House, the Council on Environmental Quality, and the EPA announcing Edison's decision to abandon the Kaiparowits Power Project. The same afternoon, all three utility companies announced publicly they were dropping out of the project, citing rising costs and extended delays. Gould offered very little public comment about the effect of environmental groups and rhetoric on the demise of the KPP. The utilities conglomerate promised to continue the fight for other projects that were under consideration in southern Utah. Local officials could not avoid being disappointed over their missed opportunities. "That power plant would have made Kane County," said Kanab Mayor Claude Glazier. "We would have had money like we never, never dreamed." Opponents responded by noting that Utah had effectively been forced into long-term consideration of environmental sensitivity. June Viavant, a Salt Lake City resident and member of the national board of the Sierra Club, observed that the whole plan to extract Kaiparowits coal "...was like Esau...the state wanted to sell its heritage for a bowl of pottage."³⁵

The assumptions encountered in the debate over the KPP were numerous and worth consideration. Utah was seen as a resource haven for the metropolitan West. Uranium, water, and waste disposal were Utah's connection with the urban west and to some degree the rest of the nation. In 1964 public utilities planners assumed that a project like the KPP would be hailed as the crown jewel of Utah's energy crown. Utah government officials and utilities executives were confident that only the details needed to be worked out before breaking ground on the KPP. This was a critical error. They obviously underestimated the national shift in environmental attitudes. Boosters also underestimated the ability of environmentally minded individuals as well as the influence of nationally based environmental interest groups. These groups did exactly what they set out to accomplish. They delayed the KPP so long that the cost of producing a ton of Kaiparowits coal increased five-fold before a single ton could be mined.³⁶

By 1976 environmental groups engaged Southern California Edison, San Diego Gas & Electric, and Arizona Public Service in a two-front war, forcing utilities to fight both rising costs and rising public awareness. Utah was no longer a regional supermarket of cheap, exploitable resources. The campaign that environmental groups waged against the Edison proposal demonstrated the full maturity of environmentalism in Utah as activists shut the door on environmentally costly development projects. By combining traditional environmentalist techniques, such as letter-writing campaigns and direct pressure on key legislators, with efforts to influence the final

³⁵Gould Papers, MS 619, Box 13, Folder 7, Special Collections, Marriott Library; *Los Angeles Times*, April 25, 1976; *Deseret News*, April 14, 1976; *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 31, 1975, April 15, 1976, April 16, 1976. The other projects were the Warner-Valley Project and the Intermountain Power Project.

³⁶*Deseret News*, April 15, 1976. The cost of producing one ton of coal in 1964 was approximately \$7.00. By 1976, the same ton of coal cost \$35.00 to extract.

disposition of the Bureau of Land Management's environmental impact statement, activists showed just how far they had come from the Sierra Club campaign of the 1950s that successfully prevented construction of Echo Park Dam but failed to stop Glen Canyon Dam.

In the late 1980s Southern California Edison sold its coal lease options to another hopeful energy contender, Andalex Resources. With that sale, controversy erupted over the proposal to strip-mine the Kaiparowits Plateau and ship the coal to Japan and Europe. The larger war for Kaiparowits coal, temporarily stayed with President Clinton's Grand Staircase proclamation, has yet to be played out.

BOOK REVIEWS

Moving Stories: Migration and the American West 1850–2000 Edited by Scott E. Casper and Lucinda M. Long (Reno: Nevada Humanities Committee, 2001. A Halcyon Imprint. xvii + 299 pp. Paper, \$14.95.)

MOVING STORIES is not, as the title might suggest, an anthology of narratives about westward migration. It is, rather, a collection of scholarly essays by different hands using a variety of approaches about movement to, within, and out of the West. These studies, nevertheless, move us (in the double sense the title implies)—intellectually by new facts and insights, and at times emotionally by the lives of the migrants themselves who nowhere in these essays are allowed to be lost in the statistics. They are voices heard in interviews, passages from diaries and memoirs, or in vivid cameo illustrations to make a point, or, as in the case of Sarah Winnemucca and the characters in the fiction of the times, full-fledged portraits.

Moving Stories is a volume in the Halcyon Series published annually by the Nevada Humanities Committee through a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. It is an exemplary use of public funds. The halcyon, we are told, is “an ancient bird [which] calmed the waters in the face of winter gales,” a fit emblem for the humanities which “can calm our fears and make safe our voyage and our young”(v). This is a publication with a high purpose.

The studies do not disappoint. From the disciplines of history, literature, and popular culture, they go well beyond the conventional accounts of overland westering which fit the optimistic “Bancroft and Turner template.” They probe the implications of race, class, gender, and ethnicity as they examine economic and political causes and social consequences of distinct migrations. With creative titles such as “A New Opportunity for the ‘Man with the Hoe’” (a study of rural reform and marketing in Montana) and “Into the Prefab West” (a study of federal settlements and western migration during World War II), the essays are well researched and well written, a pleasure for both academics and laymen to read. One contributor is Utah historian Jessie L. Embry, who writes about “Spanish-Speaking Mormons in Utah.”

A fine introduction by the editor, Scott Casper, provides a helpful preview of the contributions and challenges a number of stereotypes about the westward movement, the Turner thesis in particular. Three of the studies look at autobiographical narratives

from fresh perspectives: “Some Is Writing Some Reading: Emigrants on the Overland Trail,” is based on the diaries of the Stewart sisters, whose imagery echoes romantic discourse rather than the realism of the emigrant guides. “The Frontier Within and Without: Gender and the Memoirs of Rural German-Speaking Immigrants” reminds us that immigrants were frontiersmen too and that immigrant women experienced the “cultural frontier” differently from the men. “Sarah Winnemucca: Multiple Places, Multiple Selves” is a detailed examination of this Native American’s autobiography in terms of her roving and her evolving identity.

Literature provides historical insights in three studies: “Stephen Crain and Some Others: Economics, Race, and the Vision of a Failed Frontier”; “Migration, Masculinity, and Racial Identity in Taylor Gordon’s *Born to Be*,” a Black autobiographical novel; and “Better Living Through Westward Migration: Don DeLillo’s Inversion of the American West as ‘Virgin Land’ in *Underworld*.” All three studies show an understanding of how imaginative treatment, often ironic, can both characterize and critique people and events in a given historical era.

The Great Depression and World War II triggered unprecedented movement both into and within the West and, in the aftermath, out of the West. “At the Crossroads of Whiteness: Anti-Migrant Activism, Eugenics, and Popular Culture in Depression-Era California” looks at the revival of a mythic West as migrants from the Dust Bowl and elsewhere sought the promised land of California, the dislocated in turn dislocating the establishment and loosing the hounds of prejudice of one class against another.

“Into the Prefab West: Federal Settlement and Western Migration During WWII” focuses on three very different sites: Topaz, Portland’s Vanport City, and Los Alamos, a fascinating study of the “Plywood West” illuminated by frequent allusion to traditional pioneering and by refurbishing an old vocabulary.

In sum, *Moving Stories* provides eye-opening perspectives on movement to, within, and out of the West. Five of the eleven contributors are doctoral candidates and four are assistant professors. The solid performance by these (presumably) young academics suggests that the histories of the West still to be written will be in good hands.

WILLIAM MULDER
Professor of English, Emeritus
University of Utah

First Tracks: A Century of Skiing in Utah By Alan K. Engen and Gregory C.

Thompson (Salt Lake City: Gibbs-Smith Publisher, 2001. 192 pp. \$50.00.)

IN *FIRST TRACKS* Alan Engen and Gregory Thompson provide a visual journey through Utah's first century of skiing that takes full advantage of the written and pictorial resources of the Utah Ski Archives located in the University of Utah's Special Collections area, particularly the recent donations to it by co-author Alan Engen.

The book begins with forewords by Mitt Romney and Ted Wilson and a brief but useful chronology of Utah skiing from 1920 to the present. Since the book was published in September 2001, the first relatively brief chapter considers the upcoming Salt Lake City 2002 Winter Olympics. This done, the second chapter examines some of the first evidence of the skiing sport in Utah from Colonel Patrick Connor's soldier/miners to the development after 1900 of such groups as the Wasatch Mountain Club and the pioneering work of George Watson at Alta.

The heart of the book rests in the three main chapters that trace and above all illustrate the evolvement of skiing from the 1920s to the present. Chapter Three discusses the ski jumping era of the 1920s and 1930s when an engaging group of jumpers thrilled spectators at several Wasatch venues and attracted large numbers of people to skiing, albeit originally as spectators. The following chapter records the development of downhill skiing and the Utah resorts that were built to accommodate this interest during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. It also deals with the changes in equipment, safety procedures, and ski instruction that occurred when the sport acquired greater popularity. In the fifth chapter the authors especially consider the 1948 Winter Olympic ski team on which Utahns played such a conspicuous role, and the development of gelande and aerial freestyle skiing as unique forms of the sport that owe much to Utahns for their origins.

Not surprisingly, nor inappropriately, Alf Engen looms large throughout the book because of the important role he played as a competitor, resort developer, and ski instructor. In addition to his own personal accomplishments, signified best by his selection as Utah's most outstanding sportsman of the twentieth century, his photograph and memorabilia collection is a major documentary resource for the book.

One can quibble on some points. Halvor Bjørngaard died in 1931 not 1934. At some point the authors might have extended

their discussion of certain topics. Their treatment, for example, of the University of Utah's very successful ski team is appropriate but invites at least a brief consideration of the club and varsity ski teams fielded by Utah's other educational institutions as well.

This is not a detailed work, in words at least, of the history of skiing of Utah. It does not, for example, replace Alexis Kelner's well-known work on the same subject, *Skiing in Utah: A History*, nor does it intend to. It is, however, certainly much more than a very tastefully-done coffee table book. If a picture is worth a thousand words, then it is clearly much longer than its 192 real pages. Engen and Thompson have skillfully combined an interesting and informative text with literally hundreds of photos to create an appealing and knowledgeable study. To this reader one of the most interesting aspects of the work was the four-page feature on Vern Nichol and Jack Walker, not only "Two lifetime skiing buddies" but also individuals who clearly lived the story that the authors tell.

LEE SATHER
Weber State University

More Wives Than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System

1840–1910 By Kathryn M. Daynes (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001. xii + 305 pp. Cloth, \$34.95.)

MORE WIVES THAN ONE began as Kathryn M. Daynes' doctoral dissertation at Indiana University. The dual focus of this work is on historic and modern polygamy in Utah's Sanpete County where many early Scandinavian Mormons settled. Against the backdrop of the nineteenth-century plural marriage practices of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the author intertwines the prophetic posturing and modern polygamy of the True and Living Church of Jesus Christ of Saints of the Last Days (TLC), a quaint gathering of several hundred polygamists in Manti.

It seems an oversight that Daynes neither names her 1991 dissertation—"Plural Wives and the Nineteenth-Century Mormon Marriage System, Manti, Utah 1849-1910"—nor lists it in her bibliography. I wondered if perhaps the title was changed by the University of Illinois Press to enhance the book's marketability, to make it a bit more stirring in the burned-over macrocosm of Mormon polygamy. Some of the dust jacket assertions by the publisher and endorsers are brazen overstatements. From an author's vantage point, I cringed to read an academic press

imprudently and inaccurately claim: “[this book] offers the first in-depth look at the long-term interaction between belief and the practice of polygamy, or plural marriage, among the Latter-day Saints,” and “this superb book is far and away the best study of Mormon polygamy ever to appear,” as well as “the most authoritative account of Mormon ‘plural marriage’—polygamy—ever written.”

The complexities of Latter-day Saint polygamy and the intricacies of the principal actors who adorned Mormondom’s nineteenth-century stage cannot be adequately appraised in 214 pages of narration. This lean offering has been over edited, an injustice to an obviously much larger and more complete dissertation.

In all fairness to the author, an associate professor of history at Brigham Young University, this work is most certainly one of the finest treatments of localized Mormon polygamy available. The examination of modern Manti polygamy, under the leadership of James Harmston, is certainly a valuable addition to the overall body of published works on plural marriage. Daynes is to be applauded for the extensive base of data she has accumulated on Manti, Utah. Those of us with Sanpete ancestry are interested in where the Manti database is deposited and if it is available to researchers.

I disagree with the publisher’s notation that this book will “enlighten ... general readers on an intriguing and much-misunderstood chapter of Mormon history.” The work is too brief to be sufficiently informative to general readers. Furthermore, one has come to expect that historians from Brigham Young University, by necessity, will skate around the jagged edges of controversy. This is particularly evident as it relates to the duplicity of early Mormon leaders. These areas, under current guidelines, can mostly be dealt with in comprehensive depth only by those in the non-sponsored sectors.

The strength of Daynes’ work lies in the interpretations of her vast demographic base of historic Manti polygamy—generally a topic of greater interest to scholars than the general reader. Readers should be made aware that there are few great and “much-misunderstood” elements of Mormon polygamy left to explore, contrary to what the publisher of this book would have them believe. Virtually every aspect of plural marriage, including its most controversial elements, have been dealt with quite meticulously in other works still available in print.

RICHARD S. VAN WAGONER
Lehi, Utah

One Side By Himself: The Life and Times of Lewis Barney, 1808–1894 By
Ronald O. Barney (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2001. xxi + 402 pp. Cloth,
\$44.95; Paper, \$24.95.)

LEWIS BARNEY, who experienced much during his life in the nineteenth century, is fortunate to have as his biographer one of his descendants, Ronald O. Barney, a skilled and careful historian. This biography has been a quarter of a century in the writing and it describes in detail both in the text and in the well-documented footnotes the life of a blue-collar nineteenth century Mormon who is described as “a last wagon man” among Mormons of his time. Ron Barney takes considerable effort to demonstrate that Lewis Barney was not a Mormon leader or even a “middle wagon man” like Bishop Edwin Wooley, but rather a quiet and faithful follower, “a last wagon man.” Lewis Barney’s life is placed in detailed context of his times particularly of the American westward and frontier movements, of the Mormon colonization efforts, and in the religious enthusiasm of the early part of the nineteenth century. To underline the quality of this book, the Mormon History Association at its May 2002 meeting in Tucson, Arizona, awarded to Ronald O. Barney the prize for the best Mormon biography published in 2001.

Toward the end of his life, Lewis Barney must have believed his life had been of consequence because he began to prodigiously write his memoirs, gather his correspondence, and in this effort struggled over more than a decade to place his life in some kind of written context. Ron Barney has been able to use the variety of writings of Lewis Barney as well as those of other family members and contemporary diaries and histories to place Lewis comfortably in his times and surroundings.

Lewis Barney appears to be a typical American common man on the farming frontier until the conversion of the larger Barney family to Mormonism. He lives his first three years in New York, and the next fifteen in Ohio. Illinois is where he gains maturity, is married, participates as a soldier in the Black Hawk War, and joins with his family to Mormonism. Contrary to the author’s thesis, if there are times that Lewis Barney is not a “last wagon” man they are in the Nauvoo period of Mormon history, and when he is a member of the first vanguard company of Mormon pioneers traveling to the Great Basin in the spring and summer of 1847. In Nauvoo, Lewis along with most Mormons was well-acquainted with Joseph Smith. Writing about events in 1842, Lewis noted:

“Being in company with Joseph [Smith] and several other persons, Joseph said he needed a little money and if [he] had it he could put it to a better use than any other person in the world. I said nothing to him about it but went home, got 200 dollars and went down to Joseph’s store. Joseph not being present, I being acquainted with Lyman Wight, said to him, ‘I have a little money for Brother Joseph that I wish to let him have.’ Brother Wight said, ‘Let me take it and I will hand it to him.’ I told him to write me a receipt for it. While he was writing the receipt, Brother Joseph stepped in. I said ‘Brother Joseph I have some money for you that I was about to let Brother Wight have for you.’ Joseph said, ‘I am the man to take it.’ So I handed him the 200 dollars for which he gave his note, payable 6 months after the date” (69).

Lewis Barney was chosen along with some twelve dozen other Mormon men to forge the initial Mormon trail to the Great Basin in 1847. Lewis’ experiences during the primary trek to the Salt Lake Valley and back to Winter Quarters are filled with hard work, difficulties, and some humor as he worked as a teamster, a trail breaker, and a hunter and joked with Porter Rockwell.

Lewis consumed much of the last four decades of his life moving from place to place and continually re-establishing himself. In Utah he lived for a time in the Palmyra/Spanish Fork area, in Springville, in Springtown in the Sanpete Valley, in Monroe in the Sevier Valley, and in Circle Valley. He participated in plural marriage with his two wives Betsey and Elizabeth (both officially named Elizabeth) and their fifteen children. He experienced the Walker War, grasshopper plagues, the Utah War, the coming of the railroad, the unsettling issues related to continued moving and settlement, the Monroe United Order of Enoch, and for a time the experiences of a frontier educator/teacher.

One may take exception to some minor interpretations of the author including his calling the Panic of 1837 the “recession” of this Jacksonian period or his suggesting that the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War was to “protect American interests in the Southwest against the Mexicans.” But the reader will not take exception in judging this excellent biography to be well-written and researched—a book that describes both the life and times of Lewis Barney.

RICHARD W. SADLER
Weber State University

Navajo Land, Navajo Culture: The Utah Experience in the Twentieth Century

By Robert S. McPherson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001. xviii + 301 pp. \$34.95.)

ROBERT MCPHERSON'S WORK is noteworthy in that it focuses on an often neglected portion of the Navajo Nation, and does so by relying heavily on oral sources. The author explores a variety of economic issues related to that region in the twentieth century, including agricultural development, herding and weaving, the trading economy, tourism, and mineral development. The main argument is that the Navajos were determined and adaptable in their efforts to shape their own economy while economic change, in turn, helped alter their culture. McPherson also stresses the need for scholars to incorporate Navajo voices and to interpret Navajo history in relation to Navajo traditions and culture.

Rather than flowing as a single piece of scholarship, the book is a collection of related articles. One chapter is often quite different from another in approach, scholarship, and significance. The chapters dealing with trading, tourism, movie making and transportation technologies are very enjoyable to read, largely because of the wide variety of perspectives and anecdotes offered through oral accounts. McPherson's considerations of agriculture and hunting seem more weighty. The failure of Utah Navajos and the federal government to tame the San Juan River for agricultural benefit is explained, as is the importance of government farmers in influencing cultural change in that region. Overhunting of deer in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is shown to be the result not simply of Navajo adaptations to the cash economy, but also of a variety of external factors over which the Navajos had little or no control. McPherson also explains that Navajo hunters were less concerned with conservation, as understood in a non-Indian context, than with following proper traditions and rituals.

The most notable chapters are those dealing with livestock reduction, oil development, and uranium mining. Naturally, given the pain associated with those issues and the importance of herding and mineral development to the Navajo economy, these topics are very significant. Many scholars have previously written about these subjects, but rarely has the misery of the livestock reduction period or the negative consequences of mineral development been made so comprehensible to readers. McPherson includes oral accounts to describe the carnage, pain, and local hatred of the tribal and federal governments induced by livestock reduction. He

also explains how frustrating it has been for Utah Navajos to produce a large portion of the tribe's uranium and oil wealth, and thereby have to deal with the often deadly consequences, without reaping their share of the profits.

Although McPherson deserves credit for the effort and time expended to incorporate dozens of personal interviews with Navajo residents in Utah, this book also demonstrates some of the difficulties scholars face incorporating oral history. McPherson normally shows great sensitivity toward the people he interviewed and their perspectives, but they sometimes seem objectified. For instance, in a chapter discussing changing economic and social roles for Navajo women, the author categorizes women he interviewed as "progressive," older traditional ("Dezba"), or younger traditional ("Johns"). Given how complex people are, such generalizations seem inappropriate for scholars, even if some of the people interviewed are willing to stereotype others. Nevertheless, this book stands out because it uses oral sources in a more than supplementary manner. By spending many years actually discussing these important issues with the people about whom he is writing, McPherson has created an important piece of scholarship.

WADE DAVIES
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Utah's Lawless Fringe: Stories of True Crime Edited by Stanford J. Layton (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001. lii + 251 pp. Paper, \$18.95.)

THE IDEA TO REPUBLISH ARTICLES from the *Utah Historical Quarterly* and group them in appropriate topics is well demonstrated in this book. There is a vast and exciting history that can be traced through the stories of crimes, legal issues and common law in the State of Utah. Stanford Layton has done an excellent job of assembling articles that exemplify these issues and this historical period of time.

From the "unwritten law" that allowed wronged husbands to avenge their "honor" to the operation of a "red light" district within the shadows of downtown Salt Lake City, these articles and their authors provide an opportunity for readers, within one volume, to examine crucial issues of public, private, and institutional morality and values.

Utah has a unique history—socially, legally, and religiously. This uniqueness is well highlighted by these articles. From Kenneth L.

Cannon's article on the "extralegal" punishment of wronged husbands through the review of law enforcement and lawmen, the reader is given an overview of the legal machinery in operation during the early history of the state. Then, specific crimes and criminals are discussed by Dean Garrett, David L. Buhler and Craig L. Foster. These examples provide insight into the workings of the system as well as to the social/cultural conditions and attitudes common among the people of Utah at that time. Also included are the failures when lynchings represented the frustration of the citizens and pointed to the racial/ethnic suspicion and bias inherent within the state. Additionally, spurts of reformation and societal change are traced through efforts to deal with prostitution, alcohol and tobacco. In conclusion, the efforts of the state to deal with prisoners and juvenile offenders provide a foundation for understanding the origins of our present system and efforts at incarceration and rehabilitation.

While Layton presents these selections as some of his favorites, they are significant for their representation of early conditions in the State of Utah regarding attitudes towards law, crime, and criminals. This compilation is a wonderful addition, in one volume, for those interested in these conditions, specifically, and in the history of the state in general.

KAY GILLESPIE
Weber State University

BOOK NOTICES

Angels of Darkness: A Drama in Three Acts By Arthur Conan Doyle. Edited and with an introduction by Peter Blau (New York: Baker Street Irregulars in cooperation with the Toronto Public Library, 2001. x + 191 pp. \$35.00.)

A facsimile of an unfinished play by the creator of Sherlock Holmes and five scholarly essays comprise this volume. The play closely resembles Arthur Conan Doyle's novel *A Study in Scarlet*, and an essay by Utahn Michael Homer explores the Mormon subplot—centered around fiendish Danite deeds—in both. Homer describes the literary, Masonic, and Spiritualist sources that influenced these works. He also details Doyle's first visit to Utah some forty years after

writing the novel and play (and the crowd that, despite his negative writings about Mormonism, filled the Tabernacle to hear him speak), his belief in Spiritualism, and his growing appreciation of Mormonism's similarity to Spiritualism and of Joseph Smith's abilities as a medium.

When Montana and I Were Young: A Frontier Childhood By Margaret Bell. Edited and with an introduction by Mary Clearman Blew (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. xxxii + 253 pp. \$24.95.)

A box of papers found in a garage turned out to be a remarkable memoir of an unusual childhood. In the care of a sadistic and shiftless stepfather, young Peggy did a man's work, acquired great skill at ranching and horsemanship, and endured horrific abuse. Yet instead of playing the victim, she "learned to take the blows without collapsing" (242) and grew tough, eventually breaking free and creating the life she wanted. As an adult in the 1940s she tried to get her vivid narrative published, but that had to wait until the manuscript's rediscovery. Its appearance now is a victory for those who struggle to let the female voice, too often silenced, be heard.

Newe Hupia: Shoshoni Poetry Songs By Beverly Crum, Earl Crum, and Jon P. Dayley (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2001. xii + 276 pp. Paper, \$24.95.)

The songs in this volume celebrate centuries of the Shoshoni hunting/gathering lifeway in the Great Basin. Included are an introduction, Shoshoni and English versions, comments on each song, photos, a CD, and a glossary.

These are spare poems: "Little dark gosling, / Little dark gosling / White wings at its side, / White, in the red water, / Fluttering. / White wings at its side, / White, in the red water, / Fluttering." The editors compare the songs to minimalist writing or haiku and point out that their power lies in helping the listener pay attention to the world, in "making the familiar vivid and alive" (1). However, to the Shoshoni who consider almost all aspects of the natural world as sacred, their power lies further; one of the traditional functions of the songs is to invoke *puha*, or supernatural power.

River Runners' Guide to Utah and Adjacent Areas By Gary C. Nichols (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2002. 206 pp. Paper, \$16.95.)

Utah's rivers, so central to its past and present, are here described from an on-the-water perspective. Both beginner and expert paddlers can use this reference to learn of dozens of river trips, difficulty ratings, access points, and particular dangers and obstacles.

Magnificent Failure: A Portrait of the Western Homestead Era By John Martin Campbell, with an introduction by Kenneth W. Karsmizki (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001. xiv + 183 pp. \$29.95.)

Speaking about his family's homestead in New Mexico, the anthropologist Jesse Jennings once told the author/photographer, "Campbell, when we arrived on that place, we came in two big wagons, each pulled by a four-horse team. And when we left that place, we walked" (32). Those who made a success of their homesteads were a minority; some five million of the seven million men, women, and children who took up homesteads failed, in large part because the system did not take into account the dry nature of the West. The photos of homestead landscapes on these pages—structures, implements, fields, haystacks—speak of the work, hopes, and drought-battered lives of thousands of families.

Tough Times in Rough Places: Personal Narratives of Adventure, Death, and Survival on the Western Frontier Edited by Neil B. Carmony and David E. Brown (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2001. 304 pp. Paper, \$14.95.)

Some of the great legends of the West inhabit these fifteen, mostly firsthand, narratives. Custer, the Donner Party, Fremont, Billy the Kid, Pancho Villa, Geronimo, and more are here. John D. Lee gives his "Confession" again, and James White gives his account of his voyage on a lashed-together log raft down the Colorado River through the Grand Canyon. Little-known people and stories add balance to the "legends." The editors introduce each account, but do not analyze. Instead, they caution the reader to understand and allow for bias in the fact that participants, not objective observers or researchers, tell these adventurous stories.

GhostWest: Reflections Past and Present By Ann Ronald (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002. 256 pp. \$29.95.)

History “haunts” the present. Beneath the surface of today lie events, people, and stories in intermingled layers. Here, Ann Ronald writes about places that are pregnant with these unseen stories: Mount Rushmore, Glen Canyon, Death Valley, Tucson, and Red Cloud, to name a few. She writes about the interpretations we give these places now and how the past both remains obscure and affects our understandings.

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